

Dr. G. BURNET'S
TRACTS
In Two Volumes.

V O L. I. containing,

- I. His Travels into *Switzerland, Italy* and *Germany* : With an Appendix.
- II. Animadversions on the Reflections upon the Travels.
- III. Three Letters of the Quietists, Inquisition, and State of *Italy*.

V O L. 2.

- IV. His Translations of *Lactantius* of the Death of Persecutors.
- V. His Answers to Mr. *Varillas* : In three Parts.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. Robinson at the Golden Lion in S. Paul's Churchyard ; and A. Churchill in Ave-Mary-lane. 1689.

DEAR MURDERER

My dear friend

I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad to hear from you.

I am well and hope these few lines will find you the same.

I am, dear friend, ever your sincere friend,
J. H. P.

SOME
LETTERS,
CONTAINING
An Account of what seemed most
Remarkable in *Travelling* through
SWITZERLAND,
ITALY,
Some Parts of
GERMANY, &c.
In the Years 1685. and 1686.

Written by G. Burnet, D.D. to the Honorable R.B.

*This Edition was Corrected and Altered
in some places by the Author.*

To which is added an *Appendix*, containing some
Remarks on *Switzerland* and *Italy*, writ by a *Person*
of *Quality*, and communicated to the *Author*.

Together with some other *Additions*, which were
not in the former *Editions*.

Licensed and Entered according to Dybet.

L O N D O N,

Printed and are to be sold by *J. Robinson*, at the
Golden Lion in *St. Pauls-Church-Yard*, and *Amysham*
Churchill at the *Black Swan* in *Ave-Mary-Lane*. 1689.

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SOME LETTERS,

Containing,

An Account of what seemed most
remarkable in *Switzerland, Italy, &c.*

Zurich, the first of September, 1685.

S I R,

IT is so common to write *Travels*, that for one, who has seen so little, and as it were in hast, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among *Voyagers*, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a ramble, and concerning *Places* so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet having had opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that *Travel*, and having joyned to those a curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful entertainment if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary *Books*, for which I refer you to the *Prints*; for as you know, that I have no great inclination to copy what others have said; so a *Traveller* has not leisure, nor humor enough, for so dull an employment.

B

A:

As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared, not only in *Villages*, but even in big *Towns*, where all the marks of an extream poverty showed themselves both in the *Buildings*, the *Cloaths*, and almost in the looks of the *Inhabitants*. And a general dispeopling in all the *Towns*, was a very visible effect of the hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent situation of *Lions*, of the noble *Rivers* that meet there, of the *Rock* cut from so vast a height for a prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the *Town-house*, of the *Jesuites* Colledge, and *Library*, of the famous *Nunnery* of *S. Peter*, of the *Churches*, particularly *S. Irenees*, of the remnants of the *Aqueducts*, of the *Columns* and the old *Mosaick* in the *Abbey Dene*. In short *Mr. Spon* has given such an account of the *Curiosities* there, that it were a very presumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The *speech* of *Claudius* ingraven on a *Plate* of *Brass*, and set in the end of the low walk in the *Town-house*, is one of the noblest *Antiquities* in the *World*, by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The *shield* of *Silver* of 22 pound weight, in which some remains of gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of *Scipio's*, of restoring a fair captive to a *Celtiberian Prince*, is certainly the noblest piece of *Plate* that is now extant, the embossing of it is so fine, and so entire,

that

that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an inscription upon it to put us beyond conjecture, it were yet much more inestimable.

A great many *Inscriptions* are to be seen of the late and Barbarous ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*: there are 23. *Inscriptions* in the Garden of the Fathers of Mercy, but so placed, as it shews how little those who possess them do either understand or value them. I shall only give you one, because I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the *Criticks* have thought on it.

The *Inscription* is this, *D. M. Et Memoria Eternæ Sutiæ Anthidis. Quæ vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quædum Nimia pia fuit, facta est Impia: Et Attio Probatolo, Cecalius Calistio Conjux Et Pater, Et sibi vivo ponendum curavit Et sub ascia dedicavit.* This must be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the false Latin in *Nimia*: But the *Inscription* seems so extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-stone for his *Wife* and *Son*, and under which himself was to be laid, with ceremonies of *Religion*, should tax his *Wife* of impiety, and give so extraordinary an Account of her becoming so through an excess of piety, that it deserves some consideration.

It seems the *impiety* was publick, otherwise a *Husband* would not have recorded it in such a manner; and it is plain, that he thought it rose from an excess of *piety*.

I need not examine the conjectures of others: but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your censure.

It seems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a *Christian*; for the Christians, because they would not worship the Gods of the *Heathens*, nor participate with them in their sacred rites, were accused both of *Atbeism* and *Impiety*. This is so often objected, and the *Fathers* in their *Apologies* have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it: so this Wife of *Cecalius Calistio* having turned *Christian*, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the inscription: But by it he gives a honourable character of the *Christian Doctrine* at the same time that he seems to accuse it; that through an excess of piety, his *Wife* was carried to it: since a mind, seriously possessed with a true sense of piety, could not avoid the falling under a distaste of *Paganism*, and the becoming *Christian*.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be seen, the learned *Mr. Chorier* has some *Manuscripts* of considerable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed Editions is not sense. In the Chapter of the size of the Souldiers he begins, *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam: A*, is in no M S. and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*; for III. which are for *trium*, have been read M. and C. which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read
Consule;

Consule; so the true reading of that passage is *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam*. He shewed me another M. S. of about 5. or 6 hundred years old, in which *S. John's Revelation* is contained, all exemplified in *Figures*, and after that comes *Esops Fables* likewise, all designed in *Figures*, from which he inferred, that those who designed those two Books, valued both equally, and so put them together.

I will not describe the *Valley of Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a Landskip of the Country, which deserves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the height and rudeness of the *Mountains*, that almost shut upon it, together with the beauty, the evenness and fruitfulness of the *Valley*, that is all along well watered with the River of *Lisferre*, make such an agreeable mixture, that this vast diversity of objects, that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining prospect.

Chambery has nothing in it that deserves a long description, and *Geneva* is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little *State*, but it has so many good *Constitutions* in it, that the greatest may justly learn at it. The *Chamber of the Corn* has always *two years* provision for the *City* in store, and forces none but the *Bakers* to buy of it at a taxed price; and so it is both necessary for any extremities, under which the *State* may fall; and is likewise of great advantage; for it gives a good yearly income, that has helpt the *State* to

pay near a *Million* of debt contracted during the *Wars*, and the *Citizens* are not oppressed by it, for every *Inhabitant* may buy his own *Corn* as he pleases, only publick Houses must buy from the *Chamber*. And if one will compare the *Faith* of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to prefer the latter; for if good *Works* are a strong presumption, if not a sure indication of a good *Faith*, then *Justice*, being a good work of the first form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

At *Rome* the *Pope* buys in all the *Corn* of the *Patrimony*; for none of the *Landlords* can sell it either to *Merchants* or *Bakers*. He buys it at five *Crowns* their measure, and even that is slowly, and ill payed, so that there was 800000. *Crowns* owing upon that score, when I was at *Rome*. In selling this out, the measure is lessened a fifth part, and the price of the whole is doubled, so that what was bought at five *Crowns* is sold out at twelve: and if the *Bakers*, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of *Corn* from the *Chamber*, cannot retail out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the *Chamber* discounts to them only the first price of five *Crowns*: whereas in *Geneva* the measure by which they buy and sell is the same, and the gain is so inconsiderable, that it is very little beyond the common market price; so that upon the whole matter the *Chamber of the Corn*, is but the *Merchant to the State*. But if the publick makes a moderate gain by the *Corn*, that, and all

the other revenues of this small *Commonwealth* are so well employed, that there is no cause of complaint given in the administration of the publick purse: which with the advantages that arise out of the *Chamber of the Corn*, is about 100000 *Crowns* revenue. But there is much to go out of this: 300. *Souldiers* are payed, and *Arsenal* is maintained, that in proportion to the *State* is the greatest in the World, for it contains *Arms* for more *Men* that are in the *State*: there is a great number of *Ministers* and *Professors*, in all 24. payed out of it, besides all the publick charges and Offices of the *Government*. Every one of the lesser *Council* of 25. having a 100. *Crowns*, and every *Syndic* having 200. *Crowns* pension: and after all this come the accidental Charges of the *Deputies*, that they are obliged to send often to *Paris*, to *Savoy* and to *Switzerland*, so that it is very apparent no man can enrich himself at the cost of the Public. And the appointments of the little *Council* are a very small recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly 4 or 5 hours a day. The Salary for the *Professors* and *Ministers* is indeed small, not above 200 *Crowns*; but to ballance this (which was a more competent provision when it was first set off 150 years ago, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightned) those employments are here held in their due reputation, and the richest *Citizens* in the *Town*, breed up their *Children* so, as

to qualifie them for those places. And a *Minister* that is suteable to his character, is thought so good a match, that generally they have such *Estates* either by succession, or marriage, as support them suteably to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a regulation upon expences of all sorts, that a small sum goes a great way. It is a surprising thing to see so much *learning* as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among those whose profession obliges them to study, but among the *Magistrates* and *Citizens*, and if there are not many Men of the first form of *learning* among them, yet every body almost here as a good tincture of a learned education, in so much, that they are *masters* of the *Latin*, they know the *Controversies* of *Religion*, and *History*, and they are generally Men of good sense.

There is an universal *Civility*, not only toward *Strangers*, but towards one another, that reigns all the *Town* over, and leans to an excess: so that in them one sees a mixture of a *French* openness, and an *Italian* exactness: there is indeed a little too much of the last.

The publick *Justice* of the *City* is quick and good, and is more commended than the private *Justice* of those that deal in trade: a want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the *Town* well. There is no publick leudness tolerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great address. And notwithstanding their neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little

little known among them. One of the best parts of their *Law* is the way of selling *Estates*, which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called *Subbasta*tion, from the *Roman* custom of selling *Subbasta*. A man that is to buy an *Estate*, agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the *Government*; who order three several proclamations to be made six Weeks one after another of the intended sale, that is to be on such a day: when the day comes, the Creditors of the seller, if they apprehend that the *Estate* is sold at an under value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpose, the Buyer delivers the money to the *State*, which upon that, gives him his title to the *Estate*, which can never be so much as brought under a debate in *Law*; and the price is payed into the *State*, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes money, or to the seller himself.

This Custom prevails likewise in *Swisse*, where also twelve years possession gives a prescription; so that in no place of the World are the titles to *Estates* so secure as here. The constitution of the *Government* is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the *Cantons*. The Sovereignty lies in the *Council* of 200 and this *Council* chuses out of its number 25 who are the lesser *Council*; and the censure of the 25 belongs to the great *Council*, they are chosen by a sort of *Ballos*, so that it is not known for whom they give their votes, which is an effectual method to suppress factions

factions and resentments; since in a competition, no man can know who voted for him or against him: yet the *Election* is not so carried, but that the whole *Town* is in an intrigue concerning it: for since that being of the *little Council* leads one to the *Sindicat*, which is the Chief honour of the *State*; this dignity is courted here, with as active and solicitous an ambition, as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The 200 are chosen and censured by the 25, so that these *two Councils*, which are both for life, are checks one upon another. The *Magistracy* is in the one, and the *Sovereignty* in the other. The number of 25 is never exceeded in the *lesser Council*; but for the *greater*, tho' it passes by the name of the *Council* of 200, yet there are commonly 8 or 10 more, so that notwithstanding the absence or sickness of some of the number, they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another *Council* besides these *two*, composed of 60 consisting of those of the 200 that have born *Offices*, such as *Auditors*, *Attorneys-Generals*, or those that have been in other employments, which are given for a determinate number of years: this *Court* has no *Authority*, but is called together by the 25, when any extraordinary occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more general concurrence, in the Resolutions that they are about to form. And this *Council* is of the nature of a *Council of State*, that only gives advice, but has no power in it self to enforce its advice. The whole

whole body of the *Burgesses* chuse the *Sindics* the first *Sunday* of the year, and there are some other *Elections* that do likewise belong to them. The difference between the *Burgesses* and *Citizens* is, that the former degree may be bought, or given to *Strangers*, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a *Citizen* but he that is the Son of a *Burgess*, and that is born within the *Town*.

I need say no more of the Constitution of this little *Republick*, its chief support, is in the firm Alliance that has stood now so long between it, and the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is so visibly the interest of all *Switzerland*, to preserve it, as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the *Cantons* had not forgotten their Interest so palpably, in suffering the *French* to become Masters of the *Franche Countee*, one would think that they would not be capable of suffering *Geneva* to be toucht: For all that can be done in fortifying the *Town*, can signifie no more, but to put it in case to resist a surprise, or scalade: since if a Royal Army comes against it, to besiege it in form, it is certain, that unless the *Switzers* come down with a force able to raise the siege, those within will be able to make a very short resistance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Countrey of *Vaud*, or the *Valley*, and *Lausanne* its Chief Town, in my way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lausanne* is situated on three *Hills*, so that the whole *Town* is ascent and descent, and that very steep, chiefly on the side on which the *Church* stands, which is a very noble

noble Fabrique. The South-wall of the *Cross* was so split by an *Earthquake* about 30 years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide : Which was so-closed up *ten years* after by another *Earthquake*, that now one only sees where the breach was. This extravagant situation of the *Town* was occasioned by a Legend of some *miracles* wrought near the *Church* : which prevailed so much on the credulity of that age, that by it the *Church*, and so in consequence the Buildings near it were added to the old *Town*, which stood on the other *Hill*, where there was a *Town* made on the High-way from the *Lake* into *Switzerland*, to which the chief Priviledges of the *Town*, particularly the judicature of life and death, do still belong. Between *Geneva* and *thi*, lies the *Lake*, which at the one end is called the *Lake of Geneva*, and at the other the *Lake of Lausanne*. I need not mention the dimensions of it which are so well known, only in some places the *depth* has never been found, for it is more than 500. *Fathom* ; the Banks of the *Lake* are the beautifullest plots of ground that can be imagined ; for they look as if they had been laid by art, the sloping is so easie and so equal, and the grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delighting prospect cannot be seen any where : the *Lake* is well stockt with excellent *Fish*, but their numbers do sensibly decrease, and one sort is quite lost ; it is not only to be ascribed to the ravenousness of the *Pikes* that abound in it, but

to another sort of *Fish* that they call *Mountails*, which were never taken in the *Lake* till within these *six years* last past; they are in the *Lake* of *Neuf-Châstel*, and some of the other *Lakes* of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by some conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this *Lake*: the Water of the *Lake* is all clear and fresh. It is not only a great pond made by the *Rhofne*, that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixed, as some *Travellers* have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft gale makes a curling of the Waters in some places, which runs smooth in the places over which that soft breath of Wind does not pass, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed, that there are also many great *Fountains* all over the *Lake*, these Springs do very probably flow from some vast cavities that are in the neighbouring *Mountains*, which are as great *Cisterns*, that discharge themselves in the *Valleys*, which are covered over with *Lakes*. And on the two sides of the *Alpes*, both North and South, there is so great a number of those little *Seas*, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast sources that feed so constantly those huge ponds. And when one considers the height of those *Hills*, the chain of so many of them together, and their extent both in length and breadth; if at first he thinks of the old Fables of laying one Hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagine, according to the ingenious conjecture of one
that

that travelled over them oftner than once, that these cannot be the primary productions of the *Author* of Nature ; but are the vast ruins of the first *World*, which at the *Deluge* broke here into so many inequalities.

One *Hill* not far from *Geneva*, called *Malidit* or *Cursed*, of which one third is always covered with *Snow*, is two miles of perpendicular height, according to the observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher, *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at 22. years of age is already one of the greatest Men of his age, and seems to be born to carry learning some sizes beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the *State of Bern* ; for that *Canton* alone is above a third part of all *Switzerland*. I will say nothing of its beginning nor History, nor will I inlarge upon the Constitution, which are all well known. It has a *Council* of 200 that goes by that name, though it consists almost of a 300, and another of 25, as *Geneva*. The Chief *Magistrates* are two *Advoyers*, who are not annual, as the *Syndics of Geneva*, but are for life ; and have an authority not unlike that of the *Roman Consuls* : each being his year by turns the *Advoyer* in office. After them, there are the four *Bannerets*, who answer to the *Tribunes of the People in Rome* : then come the two *Bursars* or *Treasurers*, one for the ancient *German Territory*, the other for the *French Territory*, or the *Country of Vaud*, and the two last chosen of the
25 are

are called *the Secrets* ; for to them all secrets relating to the *State* are discovered : and they have an authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the *Majesty*, the *Advoyers* themselves not excepted, as they see cause : though this falls out seldom.

There are 72. *Bailiages*, into which the whole *Canton of Bern* is divided ; and in every one of those there is a *Bailif* named by the *Council* of 200, who must be a *Citizen of Bern*, and one of the 200, to which *Council* no man can be chosen till he is married : these *Bailiages* are employments both of Honour and Profit ; for the *Bailif* is the *Governour* and *Judge* in that *Jurisdiction* : since though he has some *Assessors*, who are chosen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry matters which way he will, against all their opinions, and the *Bailiffs* have all the *Confiscations* and *Fines*, so that *drinking* being so common in the *Countrey*, and that producing many quarrels, the *Bailif* makes his advantage of all those disorders : and in the 6 years of his Government, according to the quality of his *Bailiage* : he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000. *Crowns* with him back to *Bern* : on which he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage* : for one is capable of being twice *Bailif* ; but though some have been *thrice Bailifs*, this is very extraordinary. The *Exactions* of the *Bailif* are the only *Impositions* or charges to which the *Inhabitants* are subjected, and these falling only on the irregularities

ties and disorders of the more debauched, make that this grievance, though in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt; for a sober and regular Man is in no danger. Many in this *Canton* are as in *England* Lords of *Castels*, or *Mannors*, and have a *Jurisdiction* annexed to their *Estates*, and name their *Magistrate*, who is called the *Castellan*. In matters of small consequence there lies no *appeal* from him to the *Bailif*, but beyond the value of two *Pistols* an appeal lies, and no sentence of *death* is executed, till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies also an *Appeal* from the *Bailif* to the *Council at Bern*. There are many complaints of the injustice of the *Bailifs*: but their *Law* is short and clear, so that a suit is soon ended, two or three hearings is the most, that even an intricate suit amounts to, either in the first instance before the *Bailif*, or in the second Judgment at *Bern*. The *Citizens of Bern* consider these *Bailiages* as their Inheritance, and they are courted in this *State* perhaps with as much Intrigue, as was ever used among the *Romans* in the distribution of their *Provinces*: and so little signify the best Regulations when there are Intrinsic diseases in a *State*, that though there is all possible precaution used in the nomination of these *Bailifs*, yet that has not preserved this *State* from falling under so great a mischief by those little *Provinces*; that as it has already in a great measure corrupted their morals, so it may likely turn in conclusion to the ruin of this *Republic*.

public. All the *Electors* give their voices by *ballot*, so that they are free from all after game in the nomination of the person: all the kindred of the pretenders, even to the remotest degrees, are excluded from voting, as are also all their creditors, so that none can vote but those who seem to have no interest in the Issue of the competition; and yet there is so much intrigue and so great a corruption in the distribution of these employments, that the whole business in which all *Bern* is ever in motion, is the catching of the best *Bailiages*, on which a family will have its Eye for many years before they fall; for the *Counsellors* of *Bern* give a very small share of their Estates to their Children when they marry them: all that they propose is to make a *Bailiage* sure to them: for this, they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient number of votes; but it is the chamber of the *Bannerets* that admits the pretenders to the competition. When the *Bailif* is chosen, he takes all possible methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few crimes pass, that carry either confiscations or fines after them, his justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the *Bailiage* may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppressed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*, and there have been severe judgments against some very exorbitant *Bailifs*; yet as complaints are not made, except upon great occasions, which are not often given by the *Bailifs*, so it being the general interest

interest of the *Citizens of Bern* to make all possible advantages of those employments, the census will be but gentle, except the complaint is crying

In *Bern* there is very little *Trade*, only what is necessary for the support of the *Town*. They maintain *Professors* in the *Universities* of *Bern* and *Lausanne*; the one for the *German Territory*, which is the *Ancient Canton*, and the other for the new *Conquest*, which is the *French*: In the former there are about 300. *Parishes*; in the latter there are but about 150: But in the *Benefices* of the *German* side, the ancient *Rights* of the incumbents are generally preserved so, that some *Benefices* are worth a thousand *Crowns*: Whereas in the *pais des Vaud*, the provisions are set off for salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred *Crowns*: It is visible that those of *Bern* trust more to the affections and fidelity of their subjects, than to the strength of their *Walls*. For as they have never finished them, so what is built, cannot be brought to a regular fortification, and it is not preserved with any care, nor furnished with *Canon*; but if they have none on their *Ramparts*, they have good store in their *Arsenal*, in which they say there are *Arms* for forty thousand Men.

The *Peasants* are generally rich, chiefly on the *German* side, and are all well *Armed*; they pay no duties to the *Publick*: and the soil is capable of great cultivation, in which some succeed so well, that I was shewed some that were by accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had

possess state to the value of an hundred thousand *Crowns* ;
 ensue that is not ordinary ; yet ten thousand *Crowns* ;
 trying for a *Peasant*, is no extraordinary matter. They
 who live much on their Milk and Corn, which in
 The same places, as about *Payern*, yields an encrease
 of 15. measures after one : they breed many
Horses, which bring them in a great deal of mo-
 ney. The worst thing in the Country is, the
 moisture of the *Air*, which is not only occasion-
 ed by the many *Lakes* that are in it, and the
 Neighbouring *Mountains* that are covered with
 snow, some all the Summer long, and the rest
 till Mid-Summer ; but by the vast quantity of
 Woods of *Fir-trees*, which seem to fill very near
 the half of their soil ; and if these were for the
 most part rooted out, as they would have much
 more soil, so their *Air* would be much purer ;
 yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their
 fuel, this cannot be done. I was told, that
 they had found Coal in some places : If the Coal
 is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes
 and Rivers it can be easily carried over the
 Country, it may save them a great extent of
 ground, that as it is covered with Wood, so the
 Air becomes thereby the more unwholsome.

They have some Fountains of *Salt-water*, but
 the making Salt consumes so much Wood, that
 hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The *Men* are generally sincere, but heavy ;
 they think it necessary to correct the moisture
 of the Air with liberal entertainments ; and they
 are

are well furnished with all necessary ingredients for as their soil produces good *Cattle*, so the Lakes abound in *Fish*, and their Woods in *Fruit*; the *Wine* is also light and good. The *Women* are generally imployed in their domestick Affairs and the *Wives* even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the House and Kitchen, as much as the Wives of the meanest Peasants. Men and Women do not converse promiscuously together, and the *Women* are so much amuzed with the management of home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Physitian there told me, *they know not what Vapours are*, which is imputed to the idleness and the intrigues that abound else where; whereas, he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The *third Adultery* is punished with death, which is also the punishment of the *fifth* act of *Fornication*; of which I saw an instance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman, who confessed her self guilty of many *Whoredoms*, and designed to be revenged on some Men, that did not furnish her liberally with money, was upon that condemned and executed; the manner was solemn; for the *Advoyer* comes into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the satisfaction of the people, the whole Process was read, and Sentence was pronounced

united in the hearing of all : the Councillors
 of the great and lesser Council standing
 out the *Advoyer*, who after Sentence took the
 criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed
 for her Soul; and after Execution, there was a
 sermon for the instruction of the people.

The whole *State* is disposed for *War*; for
 every man that can bear Arms is listed; and
 shows his Post and Arms; and there are Bea-
 cons so laid over the Country, that the signal can
 be given over the whole *Canton* in a night: And their
 military *Lists* are so laid, that every man knows
 whether he is to come out upon the first or second,
 without till the general summons. The assured
 at *Bern*, that upon a General Summons they
 could bring above 80000 *Men* together, the Men
 robust and strong, and capable of great hardship,
 and of good Discipline, and have generally an ex-
 treme sense of Liberty, and a great love to their Coun-
 try; but they labour under a want of Officers. And
 though the subjects of the *State* are Rich, yet the
 publick is poor; they can well resist a sudden
 invasion of their Country; but they would soon
 grow weary of a long War; and the soil re-
 quires so much cultivation, that they could not
 spare from their labour the Men that would be ne-
 cessary to preserve their Country: they were in-
 deed as happy as a people could be, when the
Imperour had *Alsace* on the one hand, and the *Spa-*
niards had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they
 had no reason to fear their Neighbours; but now
 that

that both those *Provinces* are in the hands of the *French*, the case is quite altered; for as *Basle* is every moment in danger from the *Garison* at *Hunningen*, that is but a Canon-shot distant from it, so all the *Pais de Vaud* lies open to the *French Comté*, and has neither Fortified Places, nor good Passes to secure it; so that their error in suffering this to fall into the hands of the *French* was very gross, that I took some pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this account, that I had from one who was then a very Eminent Post, so that as he certainly knew the Secret, he seemed to speak sincerely to me. He told me, that the *Duke of Lorraine*, had often moved in the *Council of War*, that the Invasion of *France* ought to be made on that side, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified: he repeated often, and it was known in *France* so that, the *King* resolved to possess himself of the *Comté*, but used that precaution, that fear to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a neutrality on that side; but the *Spaniards*, who judged right that it was as much the interest of the *Catholic* as it was theirs, to preserve the *Comté* in the hands, refused to consent to it; but they took no care to defend it, and seemed to leave it to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while, the *French* Money was about very liberally at *Bern*, and after those were most likely to make opposition were gained; the *French Minister* proposed to the

of the necessity in which his Master found himself engaged to secure himself on that side; but that still he would grant a neutrality on their account, from the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this, all the Assurances that could be given in Words were offered to them, that they should never feel the least Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*; but on the contrary, all possible Protection. There was just Cause given by the *Spaniards* to consider them very little in their Deliberation: for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor send a considerable force to preserve the Country, so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the *French* Proposition; but one proposed that which an unbiassed Assembly would certainly have accepted, that they should go themselves and take the Country; and by so doing, they would secure themselves the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to desire; and they might easily satisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburse themselves of the Expence of the Invasion, by restoring the Country to them, when a General Peace should be made. He laid out the misery to which their Country must be reduced by so powerful a Neighbour, without all was lost labour; so he went out in a rage, and published through the Town, that the State was sold, and all was lost. They now see their error too late, and would repair it, if it were possible, but the truth is, many of the particular *Members* of this State, do so prey upon the

the publick, that unless they do with one consent reform those Abuses, they will never be in a condition to do much: for in many of their *Bailiages*, of which some are *Abbeys*, the *Bailiffs* not only feed on the *Subjects*, but likewise on the *State*, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the publick revenue, of which they are the Receivers for their Reimbursement: which made *Mr. Erlack* once say, when one of those Accounts was presented, *That it was very strange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks*. It is true, the power of their *Bannerets* is so great, that one would think they might redress many Abuses. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our *Companies of London*, which are the *Bakers*, the *Butchers*, the *Tanners*, and the *Blacksmiths*, and every *Citizen* of *Bern* does, incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call *Abbeys* for it is likely they were antiently a sort of Religious Fraternity: every one of these choose two *Bannerets*, who bear office by turns, from four years, to four years and every one of them has a *Bailiage* annexed to his Office, which he holds for life. They carry their name from the *Banners* of the several *Abbeys*, as the *Gonsalviers* of *Italy* and the *Advoyers* carry still their name from the ancient titles *Ecdicus*, or *Advocate*, that was the title of the Chief *Magistrates* of the *Towns* in the times of the *Roman Emperours*. The Chamber of the four *Bannerets* that bear Office, has a vast Power,

they examine and pass all Accounts, and they admit all the Competitors to any offices, so that no man can be proposed to the Council of 200. without their Approbation; and this being now the Chief Intrigue of their State, they have so absolute an Authority in shutting men out from employments, that their office, which is for life, is no less considerable than that of the *Advoyer*, though they are inferiour to him in rank. They manage matters with great address, of which this instance was given me in a competition for the *Advoyer-ship* not long ago; there was one whose temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those who were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred, nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other competitor, whom they favoured, so they set up a third competitor, whose kindred were the persons that were made sure to him, whose advancement they opposed, and by this means they were all shut out from voting, so that the Election went according to the design of the *Ban-nerets*. The chief man now in Bern, who was the reigning *Advoyer* when I was there, is Mr. *d' Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *d' Erlack*, who was *Gouverneur* of *Brisack*, and had a brevet to be a *Marschal* of *France*; this is one of the noblest Families in Bern, that acted a great part in shaking off the *Austrian Tyranny*, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their Nobility, the present

Head of it is a very extraordinary *Man*, he has a great Authority in his *Canton*, not only as he is *Advoyer*, but by the particular esteem which is payed him. For he is thought the wisest and worthiest *Man* of the *State*, though it is somewhat strange how he should bear such a sway in such a *Government*; for he neither feasts, nor drinks with the rest. He is a *Man* of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a *Minister of State* in a *Monarchy*, than a *Magistrate* in a *Popular Government*. For one sees in him none of those Arts, that seem necessary in such a *Government*. He has a great Estate, and no Children; so he has no Projects for his Family; and does what he can to correct the Abuses of the *State*, though the disease is inveterate, and seems past cure.

He had a Misfortune in a *War* that was thirty years ago, in the year 1656. between the *Popish* and the *Protestant Cantons*: the occasion of which will engage me in a short digression. The peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preserved by a *Law* agreed on among all the *Cantons*, that every *Canton* may make what Regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without prejudice to the *General League*. Now the *Popish Cantons* have made *Laws*, that it shall be capital to any to change their Religion, and on a set day every year they go all to Mass, and the *Masters of Families* swear to continue true to the *State*, and firm in their Religion to their lives end; and so they pretend they

they punish their falling into Heresie with Death and Confiscation of Goods, because it is a violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other hand, in the *Protestant Cantons*, such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the *Canton*; but for their Estates, they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful Spirit of the *Gospel* in the one, than in the other. In *two Cantons*, *Appenzel*, and *Glaris*, both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal Priviledges, and in some *Bailiages* that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savay*, the *two Cantons* name the *Pa liss* by turns, and both Religions are so equally tollerated, that in the same Church they have both *Mass* and *Sermon*, so equally, that on *one Sunday*, the *Mass* begins, and the *Sermon* follows, and the *next Sunday*, the *Sermon* begins, and the *Mass* comes next, without the least disorder or murmuring.

But in the year 1656. some of the *Cantons* of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Estates were confiscated; and some others, that had also changed, but had not left the *Canton*, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Estates of the refugees, but instead of granting this, the *Canton* of *Schwitz* demanded back their subjects, that they might proceed against them as delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the *Cantons* are obliged to

deliver up the Criminals of another *Canton*, when they come among them, if they are demanded by the *Canton* to which they belong; but those of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhuman and unchristian, though the *Deputy of Basil* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extremely disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Schwytz* committed some insolences upon the subjects of *Zurich*, and refused to give satisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the *Protestant* and *Popish* Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Army of 25000 Men, which was commanded by Mr. d'Erlack, but was dispersed in several Bodies: And the *Papists* had not above 6000, yet they surprised Mr. d'Erlack with a body not much superior to theirs, both sides after a short engagement, run, the Canon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole day, at last those of *Lucern* seeing that none stayed to defend the Canon, carried them off; this loss raised such a tumult in *Bern*, that they seemed resolved to sacrifice Mr. d'Erlack; but he came with such a presence of mind, and gave so satisfying an account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceased, and soon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that though the *Papists* acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other *Canton* could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Schwytz* for what they did upon that occasion. Within these few years there were

some

some quarrels like to arise in the *Canton of Glaris*, where it was said, that the equal priviledges agreed on to both *Religions* were not preserved; but on this occasion the *Popes Nuntio* acted a very different part from that which might have been expected from him; For whereas the *Ministers* of that *Court* have been commonly the *Incendiaries* in all the disputes that concern *Religion*, he acted rather the part of a *Mediator*; and whereas it was visible, that the injustice lay on the side of the *Papists*, he interposed so effectually with those of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the *Popish Cantons*, that the difference was composed.

But to return to *Bern*, the buildings have neither great magnificence, nor many Apartments, but they are convenient, and suited to the way of living in the Country. The *Streets* not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the smallest *Villages*, are furnished with *Fountains* that run continually, which as they are of great use, so they want not their beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick; but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the ground began to fail, so to support it, they have raised a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church it self; for there is a Platform made, which is a square, to which the Church is, one side, and the further side is a vast *Wall*, fortified with buttresses about 150 foot high. They told me, that all the ground

down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into vaults; this plat-form is the cheif walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun set; and the *River* underneath presents a very beautiful prospect: For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills, but all along as this cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs over a sloping bank of Stone, which they say, was made at a vast charge, and makes a noble and large *Cascade*.

The second Church is the *Dominicans Chappel*, where I saw the famous hole that went to an *Image* in the Church, from one of the *Cells* of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to set down that Story at some length: For as it was one of the most signal cheats, that the World has known: so it falling about *twenty years* before the *Reformation* was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the People to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, because I read the *original process* in the *Latin record*, signed by the *Notaries* of the Court of the *delegates* that the *Pope* sent to try the matter. The record is above 130 sheets, writ close, and of all sides, it being indeed a large volume; and I found the printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole process, of which I will give here a true abstract.

The two famous *Orders*, that had possessed themselves of the esteem of those dark ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The *Dominicans*

were

were the more learned, they were the eminentest Preachers of those times, and had the conduct of the *Courts of Inquisition*, and the other chief offices in the *Church* in their hands. But on the other hand, the *Franciscans* had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater poverty: all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the *Dominican Order*. In short, the two *Orders* were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the *Virgin* being the prevailing passion of those times, the *Franciscans* upon this had great advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* opinions, were thereby obliged to assert, that she was born in *Original Sin*; this was proposed to the people by the *Franciscans* as no less than *Blasphemy*, and by this the *Dominicans* began to loose ground extremely in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the *immaculate Conception*.

About the beginning of the 15th *Century*, a *Franciscan* happened to preach in *Francfort*, and one *Wigand* a *Dominican* coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* seeing him, broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an *Order* that prophaned the *Virgin*, or that poysoned *Princes* in the *Sacrament*; (for a *Dominican* had poysoned the Emperor *Henry* the VII. with the *Sacrament*;) *Wigand* being extremely provoked

with this bloody reproach, gave him the Lye, upon which a dispute arose, which ended in a tumult, that had almost cost the *Dominican* his life, yet he got away. The whole Order resolved to take their revenge, and in a *Chapter*, held at *Vimpsen* in the year 1504. they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their Order, which was much sunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the *Franciscans*, four of the juncto undertook to manage the design; for they said, since the people were so much disposed to believe Dreams and Fables, they must dream of their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They resolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project should be put in execution; for they found the people of *Bern*, at that time apt to Swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe Enquiries into extraordinary Matters. When they had formed their design, a fit Tool presented it self; for one *Fetzer* came to take their habit as a *Lay-brother* who had all the dispositions that were necessary for the execution of their project: For he was extream simple, and was much inclined to Austerities, so having observed his temper well, they began to execute their project, the very Night after he took the *Habit*, which was on *Lady-day* 1507. one of the *Fryers* conveyed himself secretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in *Purgatory*, in a strange figure,

gure, and he had a Box near his mouth, upon which as he blew, fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some Dogs about him, that appeared as his Tormentors, in this posture he came near the Fryer, while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they used to tell all their Fryers, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was Superiour of their House at Soloturn, had gone to Paris, but laying aside his habit, was killed in his Lay-habit. The Fryer in the Vizar said, he was that person, and was condemned to *Purgatory* for that Crime; but he added, that he might be rescued out of it by his means, and he seconded this with most horrible Cries, expressing the Miseries which he suffered. The poor Fryer (*Fetzer*) was excessively frightened, but the other advanced, and required a Promise of him to do that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment: The frightened Fryer promised all that he asked of him; then the other said, he knew he was a great Saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail; but they must be very extraordinary. The whole *Monastery* must for a week together discipline themselves with a Whip, and he must lie prostrate in the form of one on a *Cross*, in one of their *Chappels*, while Mass was said in the sight of all that should come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he should find the effects

effects of the love that the *B. Virgin* did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things; and said, he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits; and assured him, that all that he did suffer for his deliverance, should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come than the *Fryer* gave an account of this Apparition to the rest of the *Convent*, who seemed extreamly surpris'd at it, they all press'd him to undergo the discipline that was enjoyned him, and every one undertook to bear his share; so the deluded *Fryer* performed it all exactly in one of the *Chappels* of their *Church*: This drew a vast number of Spectators together, who all considered the poor *Fryer* as a Saint, and in the mean while the four *Fryers* that managed the imposture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the skies in their Sermons. The *Fryer's* Confessor was upon the Secret, and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor *Fryers* life, even to his thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The *Confessor* gave him an *Hostie*, with a piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the *Cross*, and by these he was to fortify himself, if any other Apparitions should come to him, since evil Spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the masqued *Fryer* brought two others with him in such Vizzards, that the *Fryer* thought they were Devils indeed.

The

The *Fryer* presented the *Hostie* to them, which gave them such a check, that he was fully satisfied of the vertue of this preservative.

The *Fryer*, that pretended he was suffering in *Purgatory*, said so many things to him relating to the Secrets of his life, and Thoughts, which he had from the *Confessor*, that the poor *Fryer* was fully possessed with the opinion of the reallity of the Apparition. In two of these Apparitions, that were both managed in the same manner, the *Fryer* in the *Masque* talked much of the *Dominican Order*, which he said was excessively dear to the *B. Virgin*, who knew her self to be conceived in Original Sin; and that the *Doctors* who taught the contrary were in *Purgatory*: That the Story of *S. Bernards* appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the feast of the Conception, was a Forgery: but that it was true, that some hideous Flies had appeared on *St. Bonaventures* Tomb, who taught the contrary. That the *B. Virgin* abhorred the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son; that *Scotus* was damned, whose Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting hard at *Rome*; and that the Town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within their walls. When the enjoined discipline was fully performed, the *Spirit* appeared again, and said, he was now delivered out of *Purgatory*, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and after

after that he would say Mass for those, who had by their great charities rescued him out of his pains. The *Fryer* fancied the voice resembled the *Priors* a little; but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some days after this, the same *Fryer* appeared as a *Nun* all in Glory, and told the poor *Frier*, that she was *St. Barbary*, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added, that the *B. Virgin* was so much pleased with his charity, that she intended to come and visit him: He immediately called the *Convent* together, and gave the rest of the *Fryers* an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the *Fryer* languished in desires of the accomplishment of the promise, that *St. Barbara* had made him. After some days, the longed for delusion appeared to him, clothed as the *Virgin* used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits: there were about her some *Angels*, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of *Angels*, which they set on the Altars on the great Holy Days. There was also a pulley fastned in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the *Angels*, that made them rise up in the Air, and flie about the *Virgin*, which encreased the delusion. The *Virgin*, after some endearments to himself, extolling the merit of his charity and discipline, told him, that she was conceived in Original Sin, and that *Pope Julius the Second*, that then reigned, was to put an end

to the Dispute, and was to abolish the Feast of her Conception, which *Sixtus the fourth* had instituted, and that the *Fryer* was to be the Instrument of perswading the *Pope* of the truth in that matter: She gave him *three drops* of her Sons blood, which were *three tears* of blood that he had shed over *Jerusalem*, and this signified that she was *three hours* in Original Sin, after which she was, by his Mercy, delivered out of that State: For it seems the *Dominicans* were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point of her Conception in Sin; yet they would comply so far with the reverence for the *Virgin*, with which the World was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five drops of Blood in the form of a Cross, which were *Tears* of Blood, that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented an *Hostie* to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hostie, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused *Fryer*; at last the *Virgin* told him, that she was to give him such marks of her Sons Love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said, that the five wounds of *St. Lucia*, and *St. Catherine* were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him; so she bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer.

suffer so much: but she forced his hand, and struck a nail through it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the Candle clearly through it; this threw him out of a supposed transport into a real Agony; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an Oyntment, with which he anointed it, though his *Confessor* perswaded him, that that was only an imagination, so the supposed *Virgin* left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned and brought some Linnen Cloths, which had some real or imaginary verue to allay his Torment: and the pretended *Virgin* said, they were some of the Linnings in which Christ was wrapped, and with that she gave him a soporiferous draught, and while he was fast asleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his body, in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this, the *Friers* betook themselves to Charms, and the *Subprior* shewed the rest a book full of them; but he said, that before they could be effectual, they must renounce God, and he not only did this himself, but by a formal act put in writing signed with his Blood, he dedicated himself to the Devil; it is true, he did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the Draught was a mixture of some Fountain-water and Chrism, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, some Quicksilver, some grains of
Incense

Incense, somewhat of an Easter Wax-Candle, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptised Child. This Composition was a secret, which the *Subprior* did not communicate to the other *Fryers*. By this the poor Fryer *Fetzer* was made almost quite insensible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderful impression on his body, and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviours Passion: he was exposed to the people on the great Altar, to the amazement of the whole Town, and to the no small mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other draughts that threw him into convulsions, and when he came out of those, a voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains, and runs from one of the *Cells* along a great part of the Wall of the Church: for a *Fryer* spoke through a Pipe, and at the End of the hole there was an *Image* of the *Virgins*, with a little *Jesus* in her Arms, between whom and his mother the voice seemed to come; the *Image* also seemed to shed Tears, and a Painter had drawn those on her Face so lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little *Jesus* askt, why she wept? and she said, it was because his honour was given to her, since it was said that she was born without sin; in Conclusion, the *Fryers* did so over-act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded *Fryer* himself came

came to discover it, and resolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more *Appearances*; for he well nigh kill'd a *Fryer* that came to him personating the *Virgin* in another shape with a Crown on her Head: he also overheard the *Fryers* once talking amongst themselves of the Contrivance and Success of the imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole Matter, and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which such a Discovery could inspire him.

The *Fryers* fearing that an imposture, which was carried on hitherto with so much success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what esteem he would be, if he continued to support the reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chief Person of the Order; and in the end they persuaded him to go on with the Imposture: but at last, they fearing lest he should discover all, resolved to Poyson him: of which he was so apprehensive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with some Spices, he kept it for some time, and it growing green, he threw it to some young Wolves Whelps that were in the Monastery, who died immediately. His constitution was also so vigorous, that though they gave him Poyson five several times, he was not

destroyed by it; they also prest him earnestly
 renounce God, which they judged necessary,
 that so their Charms might have their effect on
 him; but he would never consent to that: at last
 they forced him to take a poysoned *Hestis*, which
 he vomited up soon after he had swallowed
 down; that failing, they used him so cruelly,
 shipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding
 him about so strait with it, that to avoid further
 torment he swore to them, in a most imprecating
 stile, that he would never discover the secret,
 but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them
 till he found an opportunity of getting out of
 the *Convent*, and of throwing himself into the
 hands of the *Magistrates*, to whom he discovered
 all.

The four *Fryers* were seized on, and put in
 prison, and an account of the whole Matter
 was sent, first to the *Bishop* of *Lausanne*, and
 then to *Rome*; and it may be easily imagined,
 that the *Franciscans* took all possible care to have
 well examined, the *Bishop* of *Lausanne*, and of
Cyon, with the *Provincial* of the *Dominicans*, were
 appointed to form the Process. The four *Fryers*
 first excepted to *Fetters* credit; but that was re-
 jected: then being threatned with the *Question*,
 they put in a long plea against that; but though
 the *Provincial* would not consent to that, yet they
 were put to the question; some endured it long;
 but at last, they all confessed the whole progress
 of the Imposture. The *Provincial* appeared con-
 cerned;

cerned; for though *Fetzer* had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him; on the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the *Fryers* said plainly that he was in the whole secret, and so he withdrew, but he died some days after at *Constance* having Poyson'd himself, as was believed. The Matter lay asleep sometime, but a year after that, a *Spanish Bishop* came, authorised with full power from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four *Fryers* were solemnly degraded from their *Priesthood*, and eight days after, it being the last of *May* 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow, on the other side of the River, over against the great Church; The place of their Execution was shewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, through which the Voice was Conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best-carried on Cheat that has been ever known; and no doubt had the poor *Fryer* died, before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity, as one of the greatest Miracles that ever was, and it gives a shrewd suspicion, that many of the Miracles of that Church were of the same nature, but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any further with the State of *Bern*, but shall only add one general remark, which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection; it belongs in general

who is general to all the *Cantons*, but I give it here, because I had more occasion to make it in *Bern*, being seen it more, and stayed longer in it, than in the other *Cantons*.

With *Switzerland* lies between *France* and *Italy*, that is both of them Countries incomparably more rich, and better furnished with all the Pleasures and Conveniences of Life than it is; and yet *Italy* is almost quite dispeopled, and the people in it being reduced to a misery, that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it; and *France* is in a great measure dispeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to a Poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can shew it self, both in their Houses, Furniture, Clothes and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of People, and in several places in the *Villages*, as well as in their *Towns*, one sees all the marks one can look for of Plenty and Wealth, their Houses and Windows are in good case, the Highways are well maintained, all people are well clothed, and every one lives at his ease. This Observation surpris'd me yet more in the *Country* of the *Grisons*, who have almost no soil at all, being situated in *Valleys*, that are almost all washed away with the Torrents, that fall down from the *Hills*, and swell their brooks sometimes so violently, and so suddenly, that in many places the whole soil is washed away, and yet those *Valley*, are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at ease, under a gentle Government, whilst other

rich

rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to Misery, that as many of the Inhabitants are forced to change their seats, so those who stay behind, can scarce live and pay those grievous impositions that are laid upon them; the *rude people* generally reason very simply when they enter into Speculations of Government, but they feel though they argue false; so an easy Government though joyned to an ill soil, and accompanied with great inconveniences, draws, or at least keeps people in it, whereas a severe Government, in general ideas it may appear reasonable, drives its subjects even out of the best and most desirable seats.

In my way from *Bern* to this place I passed by *Soloturn*, and I came through *Fribourg* in my way from *Lausanne* to *Bern*, these are two of the Chief the *Popish Cantons*, after *Lucerne*, and one sees in them a heat, and bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*: long before they come within the Church doors they kneel down in the Streets when *Mass* is saying in it. The Images are also extream gross. In the Chief Church of *Soloturn* there is an Image of *God the Father*, an Old Man with a great Black Beard, having our Saviour on his Knees, and a Pidgeon over his Head. Here also begins a Devotion at the *Ave-Mary-bell*, which is scarce known in *France* but is practised all *Italy* over: At Noon and at Sun-set the Bell Rings, and all say the *Ave Mary* and a short Prayer to the *Virgin*; but whereas in

ly they content themselves with putting off
 their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the most
 part kneel down in the Streets, which I saw no
 where practised in *Italy* except at *Venice*, and
 here it is not commonly done. But notwith-
 standing this extream bigotry, all the *Switzers*
 take their common interest so well, that they live
 in a very good understanding one with another.
 This is indeed chiefly owing to the *Canton of Lu-*
ce, where there is a spirit in the Government
 very different from what is in most of the other
Catholic Cantons: the residence of the *Spanish Am-*
bassador, and of the *Nuntio*, in that Town, con-
 tributes also much to the preserving it in so good
 temper, it being their interest to unite *Switzer-*
land, and by this means the heat and indiscretion
 of the rest is often moderated: The *Jesuits* be-
 gan to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they
 are elsewhere: they have a Noble Colledge and
 Hospital situated in the best place of *Friburg*. It
 is not long since they were received at *Solothurn*,
 where there was a revenue of 1000 *Livres* a
 year, set off for the maintenance of ten of them,
 with this provision, that they should never ex-
 ceed that number; but where they are once set-
 tled, they find means to break through all Limi-
 tations, and they are now become so rich
 here, that they are raising a Church and Col-
 ledge, which will cost before it is finished above
 60000 *Livres*, to which the *French King* gives
 6000 *Livres* for the Frontis-peice: For this
 being

being the *Canton* in which his *Ambassador* re-
 he thought it futeable to his Glory, to
 a monument of his bounty raised by an O-
 that will never be wanting to flatter their b-
 factors, as long as they find their account in

In the same *Canton* there is an *Abbey* that
 100000 *Livres* of revenue; there is also a
 rich House of *Nuns*, that wear the *Capuchins*
 bit, that as I was told had 60000 *Livres* of
 venue, and but 60 *Nuns* in it, who having
 1000 *Livres* a piece, may live in all pos-
 Plenty in a Country where a very little M-
 goes a great way: But that which surprises
 most at *Soloturn*, is, the great Fortification
 they are Building of a Wall about the To-
 the Noblest and Solideft that is any where to
 seen; the Stone with which it is faced, is a
 of course Marble, but of that bigness,
 many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot
 breadth and thickness: But though this will
 work of vast Expence and great Beauty, yet
 would signifie little against a great Army
 would attack it vigorously. The *Wall* is fin-
 ed on the side of the *River* on which the To-
 stands, the *Ditch* is very broad, and the Co-
 scarp and *Glasier* are also finished, and they
 working at a Fort on the other side of the *Ri-*
 which they intend to fortify in the same man-
 This has cost them near two millions of *Liv-*
 and this vast expence has made them often re-
 the undertaking; and it is certain, that a for-

tion that is able to resist the rage of their Peasants in the case of a Rebellion, is all that is needful. This Canton has two *Advoyers*, as Bern, the little *Council* consists of 36, they have 12 *Bailiages* belonging to them, which are very profitable to those that can carry them, they have a *Burfar*, and but one *Banneret*. All the *Cantons* have their *Bailiages*; but if there are disorders at Bern in the choice of their *Bailifs*, there is far greater among the *Popish Cantons*, where all things are sold, as a *Foreign Minister* that resides here told me, who though he knew what my *Religion* was, did not stick to own frankly to me, that the *Catholic Cantons* were not near so well governed as the *Protestant Cantons*. Justice is generally sold among them, and in their Treaties with Foreign Princes, they have sometimes taken Money both from the *French* and *Spanish Ambassadors*, and have signed contradictory *Articles* at the same time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient situation, which makes it the seat of the general *Diet* of the *Cantons*, though it is not one of them, but is a *Bailiage* that belongs in common to eight of the *Ancient Cantons*. At least I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the *Cantons*, so with regard to us, it has a precedence of a higher Nature, it being the first that received the Reformation.

This

This *Canton* is much less than *Bern*, yet the public is much richer: they reckon that they bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning, their Subjects live happy: for the *Bills* here have regulated appointments, and but only the *hundred Penny* of the fines, so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely, to strain matters against their Subjects: and whereas at *Bern* the constant intrigue of the whole *Town* is concerning their *Bailiages*; here on the contrary, it is a service to which the *Citizens* are bound to submit according to their Constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The *Government* is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the *Magistrate* that is called the *Advoyer* at *Bern*, is here called the *Bourgomaster*. The revenue of the *State* is here justly accounted for, so that the Public Purse is much richer than at *Bern*; the *Arsenal* is much better furnished, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is great Trade stirring here; and as their *Lake* that is 24 miles long, and about two or three broad, supplies them well with Provisions, and their *River* carries their Manufacture to the *Rhin*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their Chief Manufacturies is *Crape*, which in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe the situation of the *Town*, but shall content my self to tell you, that it is extream pleasant; the *Country* about it is *Mountainous*, and the *Winters* are hard; for the *Lake* freezes quite

over

over, only in some places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that some *Springs* rise there, which cause that heat; so also in the *Lake of Geneva*, though it is never quite frozen, yet great flakes of Ice lie in several parts; but these are never seen in some parts of the *Lake*, which is supposed to flow from the same cause.

But to return to *Zurich*; one sees here the true ancient Simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with *Luxury* or *Vanity*; their Women not only do not converse familiarly with men, except those of their near kindred, but even on the Streets do not make any returns to the Civility of Strangers; for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women; but they make no Courtesies: and here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not saluted, but the Civility is expressed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing singular in the constitution of *Zurich*, that is their little Council consists of 50 Persons, but there sit in it only 25 at a time, and so the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper *Bourgomaster*, have also the Government in their Hands by turns, and they shift every six Months, at *Mid-summer* and at *Christ-Mass*. The whole *Canton* is divided into nine great *Bailiages*, and 21 *Castellaneries*; in the former the *Bailif* resides constantly; but the *Castellan*, who is also one of the great Council, has so little to do, that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at some set times of the year to do Justice.

The virtue of this *Canton* has appeared finally in their adhering firmly to the ancient *Capitulations* with the *French*, and not slackening in any Article, which has been done by the other *Cantons*, where *Money* has a Sovereign influence: but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient *Revenues* of the *Church* more generally to pious Uses, than has been done any where else, that I know of. They have many *Hospitals* well entertained: in one, as was told, there was 650 poor kept: but as they support the real Charities, which belong to such endowments, so they despise that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is too generally affected else-where; for theirs are very plain, and one of the *Government* there said to me very sensibly, That they thought it enough to maintain the Poor as Poor; and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.

The *Dean* and *Chapter* are likewise still continued as a Corporation, and, enjoy the revenues which they had before the *Reformation*: but, though they subsist plentifully, they labour hard; they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at least one: the first begins at five a clock in the Morning. At *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were instituted upon the *Reformation* from the Mass. But the Sermons are generally too long, as the Preachers have departed from the first design of these Sermons, which were intended

be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it; and if this were so contrived, that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the People with less Weariness and more profit, so it would be a vast Advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having once made themselves Masters of the practical parts of the Scripture, such short and simple Discourses would cost them less pains, than those more laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the *Archives* of the *Dean and Chapter*, there is a vast Collection of *Letters*, written either to *Bullinger*, or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many *Volums in Folio*, and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the *History of the Reformation*: For as *Bullinger* lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our *English Exiles* in *Queen Maries* Reign, in particular, to *Sands*, afterwards *Arch-Bishop of York*; to *Horn*, afterwards *Bishop of Winchester*; and to *Jewel*, *Bishop of Salisbury*. He gave them Lodgings in the *Close*, and used them with all possible kindness; and as they presented some *Silver-Cups* to the *College*, with an Inscription, acknowledging the kind Reception they had found there, which I saw, so they continued to keep a constant Correspondence

dence with Bullinger, after the happy Re-establishment of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth. Of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain only the general News, but some were more important and relate to the Disputes then on foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy Divisions: and by the Letters of which I read the Originals, it appears, that the Bishops preserved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the Queens inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them: so far they were from liking them, that they plainly exprest their dislike of them. Jewel, in a Letter bearing date the 8. of February 1566 wishes, that the Vestments, together with all the other Remnants of Popery, might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the People: and laments the Queens fixedness to them, that she would suffer no Change to be made. And in January of the same year, Sands writes to the same purpose *Contenditur de vestibus Papisticis utendis vel non utendis, cabit Deus his quoque fines*. Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish Vestments, whether they should be used or not; but God will put an end to those things. Horn, Bishop of Winchester, went further; For in a Letter, dated the 16th of July, 1565. He writes of the same concerning the Habits, with great regret, and expresses some hopes that it might be repealed next Session of Parliament, if the Popish Party did but

hind

hinder it; and he seems to stand in no doubt, whether he should conform himself to it or not; upon which he desires *Bullingers* Advice. And in many *Letters* writ on that Subject, it is asserted, that both *Crammer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an *Act* for abolishing the *Habits*, and that they only defended their *Lawfulness*, but not their *Fitness*; and therefore they blamed private Persons that refused to obey the Laws. *Grindal* in a Letter dated the 27th of *August*, 1566. writes, That all the *Bishops*, who had been beyond Sea, had at the their return dealt with the *Queen* to let the matter of *Habits* fall: but she was so prepossessed, that though they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that Matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the *Laws*, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extreamly irritated the *Queens* Spirit, so that *She* was now much more heated in those matters than formerly; he also thanks *Bullinger* for the Letter that he had writ, justifying the *Lawful Use* of the *Habits*, which he says had done great service. *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, in one of his *Letters*, laments the aversion that they found in the *Parliament* to all the *Propositions* that were made for the Reformation of Abuses, *Femel*, in a Letter dated the 22d. of *May* 1559 writes, That the *Queen* refused to be called *Head of the Church*, and adds, That that *Title* could not be

justly given to any Mortal, it being due only to *Christ*; and that such Titles had been so much abused by *Antichrist*, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these *Passages* I will make no reflections here: For I set them down only to shew what was the Sense of our Chief *Church-men* at that time concerning those Matters, which have since engaged us into such warm and angry Disputes; and this may be no inconsiderable Instruction to one, that intends to write the *History* of that time. The last particular, with which I intend to end this *Letter*, might seem a little too learned, if I were writing to a less knowing Man than your self.

I have taken some pains in my *Travels* to examine all the Ancient *Manuscripts* of the *New Testament*, concerning that doubted passage of *St. Johns Epistle*, *There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are one.* Bullinger doubted much of it, because he found it not in an ancient *Latin Manuscript* at *Zurich*; which seems to be about 800 years old: For it is written in that *band* that began to be used in *Charles the Great's* time. I turned the *Manuscript*, and found the passage was not there; but this was certainly the Errour or Omission of Copier: For before the *General Epistles* in that Manuscript, the *Preface of St. Jerome* is to be found, in which he says, that he was the more exact in that *Translation*, -that so he might discover the Fraud, of the *Arrians*, who
had

had struck out that passage concerning the *Trinity*. This *Preface* is printed in *Lira's Bible*: but now it came to be left out by *Erasmus* in his Edition of that Father's Works, is that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand, *Erasmus's* sincerity ought not to be too rashly censured; so on the other hand, that *Preface* being in all the *Manuscripts* Ancient or Modern of those *Bibles* that have the other *Prefaces* in them, that I ever yet saw, it is not easy to imagin what made *Erasmus* not to publish it; and it is in the Manuscript Bibles at *Basil*, where he printed his Edition of *S. Jeromes Works*. In the old Manuscript Bible of *Geneva*, that seems to be above 700 years old, both the *Preface* and the *Passage* are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions set the Verse concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy: And that I may in this place end all the Readings I found of this passage in my Travels, there is a Manuscript in *St. Mark's Library* in *Venice* in three Languages, *Greek, Latin, and Arabick*, that seems not above 400 years old, in which this passage is not in the *Greek*, but it is in the *Latin* set after the other three, with a *sicut* to joyn it to what goes before. And in a Manuscript *Latin-Bible* in the Library of *St. Laurence* at *Florence*, both *St. Jeromes Preface* and this *Passage* are extant: but this *Passage* comes after the other;

and is pinned to it with a *sicut*, as is that of *Venice*: yet *sicut* is not in the *Geneva Manuscript*. There are two *Greek Manuscripts* of the *Epistle* at *Basil*, that seem to be about 500 years old, in neither of which this passage is to be found: they have also an *Ancient Latin Bible*, which is about 800 years old, in which, though *St. Jerom's Prologue* is inserted, yet this *Passage* is wanting. At *Strasburg*, I saw four very *Ancient Manuscripts* of the *New Testament* in *Latin*: three of these seemed to be about the time of *Charles the Great*, but the fourth seemed to be much ancienter, and may belong to the seventh *Century*: in it neither the *Prologue* nor the *Place* is extant: but it is added at the foot of the *Page* with another hand. In two of the other, the *Prologue* is extant, but the *Place* is not: only in one of them it is added on the *Margin*. In the fourth, as the *Prologue* is extant, so is the *Place* likewise, but it comes after the verse of the other three, and is joyned to it thus, *Sicut tres sunt in celo*.

It seem'd strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the *Vatican Library* there are no *Ancient Latin Bibles*, where above all other place they ought to be lookt for: but I saw none above 400 years old. There is indeed the famous *Greek Manuscript* of great value, which the *Chanoine Sbelstrat*, that was *Library-keeper*, asserted to be 1400 years old, and proved it by the great similitude of the *Characters* with those that are

upon

upon *S. Hippolites Statue*, which is so evident, that if his Statue was made about his time, the antiquity of this *Manuscript* is not to be disputed. If the *Characters* are not so fair, and have not all the marks of *Antiquity* that appears in the *Kings Manuscript* at *S. James's*, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The *Passage* that has led me into this digression, is not to be found in the *Vatican Manuscript*, no more than it is in the *Kings Manuscript*. And with this I will finish my account of *Zurich*. The *publick Library* is very noble: the Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; There is a very handsom *Cabinet of Medals*, and so I will break off; but when I have gone so much farther, that I have gathered *Materials* for another *Letter* of this Volume, you may look for a second *Entertainment*, such as it is from.

Your &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I told you, that in *Bern* the *Bailiages* are given by a sort of a *Ballot*, which is so managed, that no mans *Vote* is known: but I must now add, that since I was first there, they have made a considerable Regulation in the way of *Voting*, when Offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian Method*, and which exposes the Competitors more to chance, and by consequence, may put an end to the *Intrigues*, that are so much in use for obtaining those

those Employments. There is a number of *Balls* put into a *Box*, equal to the number of those that have right to *vote*, and that are present; of these the third part is *guilt*, and two parts are only *silvered*, so every one takes out a *Ball*; but none can *vote* except those who have the *guilt Balls*; so that hereafter a man may have more than two thirds sure, and yet be cast in a Competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular those of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever since the *Persecution* began first in *France*, opened a *Sanctuary* to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so *Christian* a manner, that it deserves all the honourable *Remembrances* that can be made of it: such *Ministers* and others, that were at first condemned in *France*, for the affair of the *Cevennes*, have not only found a kind Reception here, but all the Support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reason expected. For they have assigned the *French Ministers* a Pension of *five Crowns* a month, if they were unmarried, and have increased it to such as had *Wives* and *Children*, so that some had above *ten Crowns* a month Pension. They dispersed them over all the *Pais de Vaud*: but the greatest number staid at *Lausanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the supporting of this charge, the *Charities* of *Zurich*, and the other neighbouring *Protestant States*, were brought hither. Not only the *Protestant Cantons*, but the *Grisons*, and some small

States,

States, that are under the Protection of the Cantons, such as *Neuchâtel*, *S. Gall* and some others, have sent in their Charities to *Bern*, who disperse them with great discretion, and bear what further charge this Relief brings upon them; and in this last total and deplorable dispersion of those Churches; the whole Country has been animated with such a Spirit of Charity and Compassion, that every Mans House and Purse has been opened to the *Refugies*, that have passed thither in such numbers, that sometimes there have been above 2000 in *Lausanne* alone, and of these there were at one time near 200 Ministers, and they all met with a Kindness and Freeheartedness, that lookt more like somewhat of the *Primitive Age* revived, than the Degeneracy of the *Age* in which we live.

I shall Conclude this *Postscript*, which is already swelled to the bigness of a *Letter*, with a sad Instance of the Anger and Heat that rises among *Divines* concerning Matters of very small consequence.

The middle way that *Amirald*, *Daille*, and some others in *France* took in the matters that were disputed in *Holland*, concerning the Divine Decrees, and the extent of the Death of Christ, as it came to be generally followed in *France*, so it had some Assertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the Imputation of Adams Sin, and asserted the Universality of Christ's death, together with a sufficient Grace given to all men, asserting with this a particular and free Decree

of Election, with an efficacious Grace for those included in it: these came to be called Universalists, and began to grow very considerable in Geneva: two of the Professors of Divinity, there being known to favour those Opinions. Upon this, those who adhered strictly to the opposite Doctrine, were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that height, that almost the whole Town came to be concerned, and all were divided into Parties. If upon this, the Magistrates had enjoined silence to both parties, they had certainly acted wisely: for these are speculations so little certain, and so little essential to Religion, that a Diversity of Opinions ought not to be made the occasion of Heat or Faction. But though the party of the Universalists was considerable in Geneva, it was very small in Switzerland, therefore some Divines there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine, drew up some Articles, in which all these Doctrines were not only condemned, together with some to Speculations, that were asserted concerning Adams Immortality, and other qualities belonging to the State of Innocency; but because Capel and some other Criticks had not only asserted the novelty of the points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading of the Hebrew, supposing that some errors had been committed by the Coppiers of the Bible, both in the Vowels and Consonants, in opposition to this, they condemned all corrections of the Hebrew Bible, and asserted the Antiquity of the Points,

or at least of the power and reading according to them; by which, though they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf's* Opinion, as to the Antiquity of the Points, yet they shut the door against all Corrections of the present *Punctuation*: If this consent of *Doctrine* (for so they termed it) had been made only the Standard, against which no man might have taught, without incurring censures, the severity had been more tolerable: but they obliged all such as should be admitted either to the *Ministry*, or to a *Professors* Chair, to sign *sic sentio*, so I think; and this being so settled at *Bern* and *Zurich*, it was also carried by their authority at *Geneva*: but for those in Office, the *Moderator* and *Clerk* signed it in all their names: and thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in those Matters, but they would needs, according to a maxim, that hath been so often fatal to the *Church*, enter into Peoples Consciences, and either shut out Young Men from Employments, or impose a *Test* upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without Strugglings in their Conscience. Yet some that set on this *Test* or Consent, are Men of such extraordinary Worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a sincere Zeal, for that which they believe to be the Truth: only I wish they had larger and freer Souls.

The only considerable Tax under which the *Switzers* lie, is, that when *Estates* are sold, the fifth part of the Price belongs to the Publick, and

and all the Abatement that the *Bailif* can make, is to bring it to a *sixth* Part; this they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *Alodium*: only there are some Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this *Tax*: but this falling only on the *Sellers* of *Estates*, it was though a just Punishment, and a wise Restraint on ill Husbands of their *Estates*.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have given you of the Derivation of *Advoyer*, when I found that in some small *Towns* in the *Canton* of *Bern*, the chief *Magistrate* is still so called: as in *Payerne*; so that I make no doubt, but as the Ancient *Magistrates* in the time of the *Romans*, that were to give an account of the *Town*, were called *Advocates*, and afterwards the *Judge* in Civil Matters, that was named by the *Bishops*, was called at first *Advocate*, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*; so this was the *Title* that was still continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Austrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too slightly the last Difference that was in *Switzerland*, which related to the *Canton* of *Glarus*. In the *Canton* of *Appenzel*, as the two *Religions* are tolerated, so they are separated in different quarters; those of one *Religion* have the one half of the *Canton*, and those of the othor *Religion* have the other half, so they live apart: but in *Glaris* they are mixt: and now the number of the *Papists* is become very low; one assured me, there were not above

100 Families of that Religion, and those are also poor, that their Necessities dispose some of them every day to change their Religion. The other Popish Cantons, seeing the danger of losing their Interest entirely in that Canton, and being set on by the Intrigues of a Court, that has understood well the Policy of imbroiling all other States, made great use of some Complaints that were brought by the Papists of Glaris, as if the prevailing of the other Religion exposed them to much Injustice and Oppression; and upon that they proposed, that the Canton should be equally divided into two halves, as Appenzel was: this was extremely unjust, since the Papists were not the tenth, or perhaps the twentieth part of the Canton. It is true, it was so situated in the midst of the Popish Cantons, that the Protestant Cantons could not easily come to their assistance: but those of Glaris resolved to dye rather than suffer this Injustice, and the Protestant Cantons resolved to engage in a War with the Popish Cantons, if they imposed this matter on their Brethren of Glaris: at last, this temper was found, that in all Suits of Law between those of different Religions, two thirds of the Judges should be always of the Religion of the Defendant; but while this Contest was on foot, those, who as is believed, fomented it, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjunction; for then was the Fortification of Hunningen at the Ports of Basil much advanced, of the importance of

of which, they are now very apprehensive when it is too late. There are six Noble Families in *Bern*, that have still this Priviledge, that when any of them is chosen to be of the *Council*, they take place before all the Ancient Councillors, whereas all the rest take place according to the Order in which they were chosen to be of the *Council*.

THE SECOND LETTER.

Millan, the first of *October*, 1685.

AFTER a short stay at *Zurich*, we went down the *Lake*, where we past under the *Bridge* at *Ripperwood*, which is a very noble Work for such a Country; the *Lake* is there about half a mile broad, the *Bridge* is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either side, so that if the Wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there; a Man is in great danger of being blown into the *Lake*; and this same defect I found in almost all the *Bridges* of *Lombardy*, which seemed very strange; for since that Defence is made upon so small an Expence, it was amazing to see *Bridges* so naked; and that was more surprizing in some places, where the *Bridges* are both high and long: yet

never heard of any mischief that followed on
 this ; but those are sober *Countries*, where drink-
 ing is not much in use. After two days journey,
 we came to *Coire*, which is the chief *Town* of
 the *Grisons*, and where we found a general *Diet*
 of the three *Leagues* sitting, so that having staid
 ten days there, I came to be informed of a great
 many particulars concerning those *Leagues*, which
 are not commonly known: The *Town* is but
 little, and may contain between four and five
 thousand Souls ; it lies in a bottom, upon a
 small Brook, that a little below the *Town* falls
 into the *Rhine*. It is environed with *Mountains*
 of all hands, so that they have a very short
Summer ; for the *Snow* is not melted till *May* or
June ; and it began to *Snow* in *September* when I
 was there. On a rising ground at the *East End*
 of the *Town* is the *Cathedral*, the *Bishop Palace*, and
 the *Cloise*, where the *Dean* and six *Prebendaries* live ;
 all within the *Cloise* are *Papists*, but all the *Town*
 are *Protestants*, and they live pretty neighbourly
 together. Above a quarter of a mile high in
 the *Hill*, one goes up by a steep ascent to *Saint*
Lucius Chappel ; My Curiosity carried me thither :
 Though I gave no faith to the Legend of *King*
Lucius, and of his coming so far from home to
 be the *Apostle* of the *Grisons*. His *Chappel* is a
 little Vault about ten foot square, where there is
 an *Altar*, and where *Moss* is said upon some
 great *Festivals* ; it is situated under a natural *Arch*
 that is in the *Rock*, which was thought proper to
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be given out to have been the *Cell* of a *Hermit*: from it some drops of a small *Fountain* fall down near the *Chappel*; the *Bishop* assured me it had a miraculous vertue for *Weak-eyes*, and that it was *Oily*; but neither taste nor feeling could discover to me any *Oilyness*: I believe it may be very good for the *Eyes*, as all *Rock-Water* is; but when I offered to shew the good *Old Bishop*, that the *Legend* of *Lucius* was a *Fable* in all the parts of it, but most remarkably in that which related to the *Grisons*, and that we had no *Kings* in *Britain* at that time, but were a *Province* to the *Romans*, that no *Ancient Authors* speak of it, *Bede* being the first that mentions it; and that the pretended *Letter* to *Pope Eleutherius*, together with this *Answer*, has evident *Characters* of *Forgery* in it, all this signified nothing to the *Bishop*, who assured me, that they had a *Tradition* of that in their *Church*; and it was inserted in their *Breviary*, which he firmly believed: he also told me the other legend of *King Lucius's* Sister *S. Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whose *Veil* there was yet a considerable remnant reserved among their *Reliques*: I confess, I never saw a *Relique* so ill disguised; for it is a peice of worn *Linnen Cloath* lately washt, and the burning did not seem to be a *Month Old*; and yet when they took it out of the *Case*, to shew it me, there were some there that with great *Devotion* rub'd their *Beads* upon it. The *Bishop* had some *Contests* with his *Dean*, and being a

Prince

Prince of the *Empire*, he had prescribed him: the *Dean* had also behaved himself so insolently, that by an order of the *Diet*, to which even the *Bishop*, as was believed, consented, he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common consent both of the *Popish* and *Protestant* Communities, a *Law* was long ago made against *Ecclesiastical Immunities*: this attempt on the *Dean* was made four years ago; as soon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great complaints of the *Bishop*, and it was thought the *Popish* party intended to move in the *Diet* while we were there for the repealing of that *Law*, but they did it not. The foundation of the Quarrel between the *Bishop* and *Dean* was the *Exemptions* to which the *Dean* and *Chapter* pretended, and upon which the *Bishop* made some Invasion: Upon which I took occasion to shew him the Novelty of those *Exemptions*, and that in the primitive *Church* it was believed, that the *Bishop* had the Authority over his *Presbyters* by a Divine Right; and if it was by a Divine Right, then the *Pope* could not exempt them from his obedience: but the *Bishop* would not carry the matter so high, and contented himself with two Maxims; the one was, That the *Bishop* was Christ's *Vicar* in his *Diocess*; and the other was, That what the *Pope* was in the *Catholic Church*, the *Bishop* was the same in his *Diocess*.

He was a good-natured Man, and did not make use of the great Authority that he has
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over the *Papists* there, to set them on to live easily with their Neighbours of another Religion. That *Bishop* was anciently a great Prince; and the greatest part of the *League*, that carries the Name of the *House of God*, belonged to him, though I was assured that *Pregallia*, one of the *Communities*, was a free *State* above six hundred years ago, and that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other *Communities* of this *League* bought their Liberties from several *Bishops* some considerable time before the *Reformation*, of which the *Deeds* are yet extant; so that it is an impudent thing to say as some have done that they shook off his Yoke at that time.

The *Bishop* hath yet reserved a Revenue of about one thousand pound Sterling a Year, and every one of the *Prebendaries* hath near two hundred pound a Year. It is not easie to imagin out what the Riches of this Country is raised; for one sees nothing but a tract of vast Mountains that seem barren Rocks, and some little Vallies among them not a mile broad, and the best part of these is washed away by the *Rhine*, and some Brooks that fall into it: but their Wealth consists chiefly in their Hills, which afford much Pasture; and in the hot Months, in which the Pasture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into these Hills, which bring them in a Revenue of above two hundred thousand Crowns a Year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular Persons are so rich, that I knew

great many there, who were believed to have
States to the value of one hundred thousand
Crowns. Mr. Schovestein, that is accounted the
 richest man in the Country, is believed to be
 worth a *Million*, I mean of *Livres*. The Govern-
 ment here is purely a *Commonwealth*; for in the
 Choice of their *Magistrates*, every man that is
 above sixteen *Years* old hath his *Voice*, which is
 also the constitution of some of the small *Cantons*.
 The *Three Leagues* are, the League of the *Grisons*,
 that of the *House of God*, and that of the ten
Jurisdctions.

They believe, that upon the Incursions of the
Goths and *Vandals*, as some fled to the *Venetian*
Islands, out of which arose that famous *Common-*
wealth; so others came and sheltered themselves
 in those *Valleys*. They told me of an ancient
Inscription lately found, of a *Stone*, where
 on the one side is graven, *Omitto Rheta*
Indometos, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other;
 which they pretend was made by *Julius Caesar*:
 the *Stone* on which this *Inscription* is, is upon
 one of their *Mountains*; but I did not pass that
 way, so I can make no judgment concerning
 it. After the first forming of this People,
 they were cast into little *States*, according to the
 different *Valleys* which they inhabited, and
 in which Justice was administred, and so they
 fell under the power of some little *Princes*,
 that became severe *Masters*; but when they
 saw the Example that the *Switzers* had set them,

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in shaking off the *Austrian* Yoke, above two hundred years ago, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; only some few of those small *Princes* used their Authority better, and concurred with the people in shaking off the Yoke, and so they are still parts of the Body; only *Haldenstein* is an absolute Sovereignty; it is about two miles from *Coire* to the West, on the other side of the *Rhine*; the whole Territory is about half a mile long at the foot of the *Alps*, where there is scarce any breadth. The Authority of these *Barons* was formerly more absolute than it is now; for the Subjects were their Slaves: but to keep together to little *Village*, they have granted them a Power of naming a List for their *Magistrates*, the Person being to be named by the *Baron*: who hath also the Right of Pardoning a Right of Coyning, and every thing also that belongs to a Sovereign. I saw this little *Prince* in *Coire*, in an Equipage not suitable to his Quality; for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other *Baronies* that are Members of the *Diet*, and subject to it; the chief belonged to the *Arch-Duke* of *Incbruck*; the other two belong to Mr. *Schwenstaun* and Mr. *de Mont*, they are the Heads of those *Communities* of which their *Baronies* are composed; they name the *Magistrates* out of the Lists that are presented to them by their Subjects, and they have the right of pardoning, and of Confiscations: That belonging to the House of *Ar-*

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Austria is the biggest, it hath *five* Voices in the *Diet*, and it can raise twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* brought it of the *Emperor* in the year 1679, he entered upon the Rights of the ancient *Barons*, which were specified in an agreement that past between him and his *Peasants*, and was confirmed by the *Emperour*. *Travers* made many Incroachments upon the Priviledges of his *Subjects*, who upon that made their Complaints to the *League*; but *Travers* would have the mattes judged at *Inchbruck*, and the *Emperor* supported him in this Pretension, and sent an *Agent* to the *Diet*: I was present, when he had his *Audience*, in which there was nothing but *General Complements*: But the *Diet* stood firm to their Constitution, and asserted, that the *Emperour* had no Authority to judge in that Matter, which belonged only to them; so *Travers* was forced to let his Pretentions fall.

All the other Parts of this *State* are purely *Democratical*; there are *three* different *Bodies* or *Leagues*, and every one of these are an intire *Government*; and the Assembly or *Diet* of the *Three Leagues*, in only a Confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, or the *Cantons*: There are *sixty-seven* Voices in the General *Diet*, which are thus divided: The *League* of the *Grisons* hath *twenty eight* Voices, that of the *House of God* hath *twenty four*, and that of the *Jurisdictions* hath *fifteen*. The *Jurisdictions* belonged anciently to the *House of Austria*: but they having shaken off that Authority,

thority, were incorporated into the *Diet*: but the last Wars of *Germany*, the *Austrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke yet they defended their Liberty with so much Vigour, that the *Austrians* it seems thought the Conquest not worth the while, and that it would not quit the Cost. They were affrighted by the extraordinary Actions; in one *Village*, which was quite abandoned by all the *Men* belonging to it, who left the *Women* in it, some hundreds, and was told, there quartered, and were apprehensive of no danger from their *Hostesses*; but the *Women* intended to let their *Husbands* see, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action; though it must be confest, it was a little too rough and Barbarous for the Sex. They entered into a Combination to cut the Throats of all the *Souldiers* at one time; the *Woman* that proposed this, had four lodged with her, and she with her own Hands dispatcht them all, and so did all the rest, not one *Souldier* escaping to carry away the News of so unheard of a Rage. In another Place, a Body of the *Austrians* came into a *Valley*, that was quite abandoned; for the *Men* that had no *Arms* but their *Clubs* and *Staves*, had got up to the *Mountains*; but they took their Measures so well, and possessed themselves so of the *Passes*, that they came down upon the *Souldiers* with so much Fury, that they defeated them quite, so that very few escaped, and it is certain, that the Subduing them would

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have proved a very hard Work. It is true, they are not in a Condition to hold out long, the Publick is so poor; so that though particular Persons are extream rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preserve his Liberty, which is more intire here, than it is even in *Switzerland*: but this swells often too much, and throws them into great Convulsions. The *League* of the *Grisons* is the first and most ancient, and it is composed of eight and twenty *Communities*, of which there are eighteen *Papists*, and the rest are *Protestants*; the *Communities* of the two *Religions* live neighbourly together, yet they do not suffer those of another *Religion* to live among them, so that every *Community* is entirely of the same *Religion*; and if any one changes, he must go into another *Community*. Each *Community* is an intire *State* within it self, and all Persons must meet once a year to chuse the *Judge* and his *Assistants*, whom they change, or continue from year to year, as they see cause: There is no difference made between *Gentleman* and *Peasant*, and the *Tenant* hath a *Vote* as well as his *Landlord*, nor dare his *Landlord* use him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions; for the *Peasants* would look upon that as a common Quarrel. An appeal lies from the *Judge* of the *Community*, to the *Assembly* of the *League*, where all matters end; for there lies no appeal to the general *Diet* of the three *Leagues*, except in matters that concern the conquered

Countries, which belong in common to all the *stres*. There is one chosen by the *Deputies* for the *Assembly* of the *League*, who is called the *Head of the League*, that can call them together as he sees cause, and can likewise bring a cause that hath been once judged to a second hearing. *Ilantz* is the *Chief Town* of this *League*, where their *Diet* meets. The second *League* is that of the *House of God*, in which there are four and twenty *Communities*; the *Burgomaster* of *Coire* is always the *Head* of this *League*: This *League* is almost wholly *Protestants*, and the two *Valleys* of the *Upper* and *Lower Engedin* are pointed out by the *Papists*, as little less than *Cannibals* towards such *Catholicks* as come among them; but *Fryer Sfondran*, Nephew to *Pope Gregory* the fourteenth, whose Mother the *Marquess of Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen years ago he was believed to have wrought *Marvels*, he became so much in love with the *Crown of Martyrdom*, that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he desired. His *Brother* had come sometime before into the *Country* to drink *Mineral Water*, and was well known to the *Gentry*, so some of these hearing of the *Fryer's* coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained by them in their *Houses*, and conveyed through the *Country*, though he took all possible ways to provoke them; for he was often railing at the

Religion

Religion, but to all that they made no answer, only they continued their Civilities still, which did so inrage the warm *Fryer*, that he went to *Bormio*, and there (as was believed) he Died of Grief. An Accident fell out five years ago, that the People of the Country esteemed a sort of a Miracle. The *Papists* in their *Processions* go sometimes out of one *Community* into another, and when they pass through *Protestant Communities*, they lower the *Cross*, and give over singing till they are again upon *Papish* ground: but then they went on bearing up the *Cross*, and singing as they went, upon which the *Protestants* stopt them, and would not suffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the *Protestants*, sent to a *Catholick Community*, and desired them to come to their Assistance: Two thousand came, and by all appearance the Dispute would have had a bloody Issue: for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the Rights of their *Community*, and the others were no less resolved to force their Way: but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it, the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood: but terrified with the Appearance of such a number, they retired, and this saved a little Battel, that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole Constitution and Union of their *Leagues*. The *Papists* of quality

endeavour much to keep their People in order ; but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The *Jurisdictions* have fifteen Votes in the General Diet, yet they are generally called the *ten Jurisdictions*, and the greater part of them are likewise of the *Religion* ; for upon the general Computation of the *three Leagues*, the *Protestants* are about two thirds. In their *Diets* there are *three Tables*, one in the middle, and two on either side ; at every *Table* sits the *Head* of the *League*, and a *Secretary* near him ; and from the *Table* there goes down Benches on both Hands for the *Deputies* from the *Communities* of that *League* : They hold their *Diets* by turns in the Chief *Towns* of the several *Leagues*, and it hapned to be the turn of the *House of God*, when I was there ; so they met at *Coire*.

The *three Leagues* have a conquered Country in *Italy*, divided into three Districts, the *Valtelline*, *Chavennes* and *Bormio*. When *John Galeasse* possessed himself of the *Dutchy of Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas*, *Mastinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given those three Branches of the *Dutchy of Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hospitably received and entertained by the *Bishop*, when he died, he gave his Right to those *Territories* to the *Cathedral of Coire* : but here was a Title without a force able to make it good. But when the *Wars of Italy* were on Foot, the *three Leagues* being much courted by both
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the *Crowns*, since they were Masters of the *Passes*, by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they resolved to lay hold on that Opportunity : yet they had not Zeal enough for their *Bishop*, to ingage deep upon his Account, so they agreed with him to pay him such a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were so considerable to the *Spaniards*, that without much ado, they yielded those Parcels of the *Dutchy of Milan* to them, and by this means they are possessed of them. Those Accessions to this *State* are much better than the principal ; for as certainly the *Valtelline*, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the richest *Valleys* in the World, in which there are three Harvests some years ; so the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the best *Valleys* of the *Grisons* ; yet the ingagement that People have to their native Homes appears signally here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Country, that they might scituate themselves so advantageously : but they love their rugged *Valleys*, and think the safety they enjoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired Dominions ; so they govern them by *Bailifs* and *Podestà's*, and other Officers whom they send among them ; and all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the *Magistrates* whom they send to govern them, do enrich themselves, as the *Bailifs* in *Switzerland* do. All those Offices go round the several *Communities*, who have the right of no-

mination in their turn : But if there is none of the *Community* proper for the *Employment*, any one of another *Community* may buy of them the *Nomination* for that turn, and the *Community* distribute among them the *Money* that he gives them. The publick draws nothing out of those parts, except the *Fines*, which in some years amounts to no considerable sum ; and ten or twelve thousand *Crowns* is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a *year* ; so that their *Subjects* live happy, and free of all *Taxes*, which made their last *Revolt* appear the more extraordinary ; and it was indeed the affect of a very surprising *Bigotry*, when a *People* under the gentlest yoke in the *World*, who had no other *Grievance*, but that now and then their *Magistrates* were of another *Religion*, and that the *Protestant Religion* was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their *Masters*, cut the *Throats* of their *Neighbours*, and cast themselves into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who are the terriblest *Masters* in the *World*.

But to give a more particular *Relation* of that matter, and to tell the *Circumstances* which seem a little to lessen that *Rebellion* and *Massacre*, I must give an *Account* of a part of this *Constitution* that is very *Terrible*, and which makes the greatest *Men* in it to tremble : The *Peasants* come sometimes in great *Bodies*, and demand a *Chamber of Justice* from the general *Diet*, and they are bound to grant it always when

when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty *years*; commonly this Tumult of the *Peasants* is set on by some of the Male-contented *Gentry*, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This Court is composed of *ten Judges* out of every *League*, and *twenty Advocates*, who manage such Accusations as are presented to them; this Court is paramount to *Law*, and Acts like a Court of *Inquisition*; they give the *Question*, and do every thing that they think necessary, to discover the Truth of such Accusations as are presented to them; and the Decisions of this Court can never be brought under a second Review, though there is an exception to this; for about a hundred *years* ago, one Court of *Justice* reversed all that another had done; but that is a single instance. The *Peasants* are in as great a jealousy of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream sensible of a great Dissolution of Morals, that the *Spanish* service brings among them: For there is a *Grisen Regiment* kept still in pay by the *Spaniards*, there are in twelve *Companies* of fifty a piece, and the *Captains* have a thousand *Crowns* pay, though they are not obliged to attend upon the Service: This is upon the matter a Pension paid under a more decent name to the most considerable Men of the Country; and this is shared among them without any distinction of *Protestants* and *Papists*, and is believed to sway their *Councils*

much. The *Peasants* are apt to take fire, and and to believe they are betrayed by those *Pensioners* of *Spain*; and when Rumors are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a *Chamber of Justice*; the common *Question* that they give, which is also used all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is, that they tye the *Hands* of the suspected Persons behind his back, and pull them up to his *Head*, and so draw them about, by which the Arms and chiefly the *Shoulder-blades* are disjoyned; and when a Person put to the *Question* confesses his Crime, and is upon that condemned to dye, he is obliged to renew his Confession upon *Oath* at the Place of Execution; and; and if he goes off from it then, and saith, *That his Confession was extorted by the Violence of the Torture*, he is put again to the *Question*: for this passes for a Maxim, *That no Man must dye unless he confesseth himself guilty*: Generally when the fury of demanding this *Chamber* is spread among the People, the *Gentry* run away, and leave the whole matter in the Power of the *Peasants*; for they know not where it will end, and so the *Peasants* being named to be *Judges*, the Justice goes quick, till some Sacrifices appease the Rage. Two Year ago, upon the sale of a *Common* to the *Bishop* of *Como*, to which he had an ancient pretension, the *Peasants* having no more the liberty of the *Common*, were enraged at their *Magistrates*, and a Report was spread abroad, of which

which the first Author could never be discovered, *that the Spaniard had sent a hundred thousand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magistrates*; upon this they were so set on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made to this fury: but the Gentry hapned to be then so much united, that there was none of them ingaged among the *Peasants*, or that managed their Rage: a *Chamber of Justice* was granted, but the matter was so ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty; yet some that had dealt in that transaction were fined, not so much for any fault of theirs; as to raise a fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber; and because they could not find colour enough to raise so much out of the Fines, there was a fine of five hundred *Livers* laid on every one of the *Spanish Companies*. I hope this digression will not appear tedious to you, and the rather because you will soon see that it was a little necessary to open the matter of the *Rebellion and Massacre in the Valteline*.

In the Year 1618, there was a Report set about, *That the Spaniards had a Treaty on foot to tear away the Valteline from the Leagues*: this was supported by the *Fort Fuentes*, that the Governour of Milan was building upon the *Lake of Como*; near the *Valteline* there was one Ganatz a Minister, but a bloody and Perfidious Man, that set on and managed the rage of the *Peasants*, and there was great reason to suspect some under-

hand dealing, though he threw it which way he pleased. A *Chamber of Justice* was appointed to sit at *Tossane*, which is a considerable Town twelve miles from *Coire*, on the way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and small Hill, to which there is no access but on one side, where there are yet the Ruins of a *Castle* and a *Church*, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus*, the first Prince of the Country: There was severe Justice done in this *Chamber*, a *Priest* was put to the *Question*, and so ill used that he dyed in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief suspicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being one of the best Families of the *Grisons*, was then one of the *Captains* in the *Spanish Regiment*; he withdrew himself from the Storm, but the *Peasants* led on by *Ganatz* pursued him so, that at last they found him, and hewed him in pieces, *Ganatz* himself striking the first stroke with an *Ax*, which was taken up and preserved by his Friends; and four and twenty years after, fifty or sixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the same *Ax*, which they brought along with them; that they might execute their design by the same Tool with which their Friend was Murthered. *Ganatz* had during the *Wars* abandoned both his *Religion* and *Profession*, being indeed a disgrace to both, and had served first in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spanish Troops*: After the peace was made, he became so considerable, being supported

ported by the *Spanish* Faction, that he was chosen Governour of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a *Diet*, he being then in so important a charge: but he was so much hated, that though the Murthering of a *Magistrate* in Office, and at a publick *Assembly* in so terrible a manner, ought to have been severely punished, yet no inquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In that *Chamber* many that were put to the *Question*, confessed enough to hang them, some indured the *Question*, and escaped with the loss of the use of their Arms. Those of the *Valtelline* have made use of this severity, as that which gave the rise to the *Massacre*, and it is very probable, this might have drawn in some, that would have been otherwise more moderate, and that it did likewise precipitate that Barbarous Action: yet it was afterwards found out, that the *Plot* had been formed long before, so that the Industry and Rage of the *Priests*, managed by *Spanish* Emissaries, working upon the bigotry of the *People*, was the Real Cause, and this was only made use of as a pretext to give some more plausible colours to the *Massacre*, which was executed some Months after this *Chamber* was dissolved. It began while the *Protestants* were at *Church*; there were some hundreds destroyed, the rest got all up to the *Mountains*, and so escaped into the Country of the *Grisons*, and those of *Chavennes* got likewise up to the *Hills*;

for

for they are situated just at the bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that *War*; the *French* saw of what Advantage it was to them, not to let this *pass* from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; so *Bassompierre* was sent to *Madrid*, and obtained a promise, that all things should be put in the same state in which they were before the year 1618; but when that Order was sent to the *Governour of Milan*, it was plain he had secret Orders to the contrary; for he refused to execute it: so a *War* followed, in which the *Grisons* found it was not easy for them to support the charge of it, without imploying the Assistance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other Interest in the affairs of the *Valtelline*, than the preservation of the *Catholick Religion*; and to shew their sincerity, they put the *Country* into the *Popes* Hands, knowing that he could not preserve it but by their Assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all change of *Religion*. The *French* willingly undertook the cause of the *Grisons*, and and because the *Duke of Rohan* was like to be the most favourable *General*, as being of the *Religion*, he was sent to command some forces that marched thither: But he saw, that if the *French* once made themselves Masters of the *Passes* of the *Country*, it would turn to their Ruin; and finding the *Grisons* reposed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him

to be an Instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them. The Spaniards seeing the French ingage in the Quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the *Passes*; offered to restore all the Territory in *Italy*; for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewise revolted, only the Protestants got away so quick upon the disorders in the *Valtelline*, that they prevented the Rage of the Priests. The Spaniards ask'd these Conditions, that an *Amnesty* should be granted for what was past; that there should be no Exercise of the Protestant Religion tolerated in the Country, and that even the *Bailiffs* and other Magistrates of the Religion, that came to be sent into the *Valtelline*, should have no Exercise of their Religion; and as for other Persons, that none of the Religion might stay above six Weeks at a time in the Country. The Duke of *Rohan* seeing that Conditions of so much Advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did underhand advise those of the Religion to accept of them, at the same time that he seemed openly to oppose the Treaty set on foot on those Terms, and that he might get out of this Employment with the less dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in Prison till they had finished their Treaty with the Spaniards. So that they very gratefully to this day own, that they owe the Preservation of their Country to the wise Advices of that great Man. Many that were of the Religion returned to their Houses and Estates, but the

the greatest part fearing such another *Massacre* have since changed their *Religion*; others have sold their *Estates*, and left the *Country*; some stay still, and go two or three hours journey to some of the *Protestant Communities*, where they have the Exercise of the *Religion*: And though they may not stay in the *Valtelline* above *six weeks* at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the *Country* once within that time; nor is that matter at present so severely examined, so that there is a calm among them as to those matters. But when it comes to the turn of the *Protestant Communities* to send one of the *Religion* to those employments, he is often much embarrassed by the *Bishop* of *Como*, to whose *Diocesi* those *Territories* belong; for if the *Bishop* fancies that they do any thing contrary to the *Ecclesiastical immunities*, he *Excommunicates* them; and though this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse state by being *Hereticks*, yet it produces a very sensible effect; for the people that are extremely superstitious, will not after that come near such *Magistrates*; so that about three year ago a *Bailif* found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, though his time was not out, since being *excommunicated*, he could no longer maintain the *Government* in his own person.

Among the *Grisons* the *Roman Law* prevails, modified a little by their *Customs*: one that was a little particular, was executed when I was there.

there. A *Man* that hath an *Estate* by his *Wife*, enjoys it after her death, as long as he continues a *Widower*; but when he *Marries* again, he is bound to divide it among the *Children* that he had by her. The *Justice* is short and simple, but it is oft thought that bribes go here, though but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The *Married Women* here do scarce appear abroad, except at *Church*; but the *Young Women* have more *Liberty* before they are *Married*. There is such a plenty of all things, by reason of the *Gentleness* of the *Government*, and the *Industry* of the *People*, that in all the *ten days*, in which I stayed at *Coire*, I was but once askt an *Alms* in the *Streets*. There are *two Churches* in *Coire*; in the one there is an *Organ*, that joyns with their *Voices* in the singing of the *Psalms*; and there was for the *Honour* of the *Diet*, while we were there, an *Anthem* sung by a set of *Musicians* very regularly. In all the *Churches* both of *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*, except in this only, the *Minister* preaches covered; but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular *Devotion* used here in saying of the *Lords Prayer*, that the *Ministers* who wear *Caps*, put them off when this was said. The *Women* here as in *Bern*, turn all to the *East* in time of *Prayer*, and also in their private *Devotions*, before and after the *public Prayers*: many also bow at the *Name* of *Jesus*: They *Christen* discovering the whole *Head*, and pouring the *Water* on the *Hind-*

Hind-head, using a Trine asperſion, which is alſo the Practice of the *Switzers*. It was matter of much edification, to ſee the great numbers both here and all *Switzerland* over, that come every day to Prayers Morning and Evening. They give here in the middle of the prayer a good interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Aſſembly. The *Schools* here go not above *Latin*, Greek and *Logick*; and for the reſt, they ſend their Children to *Zurich* or *Baſil*. The *Clergy* here are very meanly provided; for moſt part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their people: they complained much to me of a great Coldneſs in their People in the matters of *Religion*, and of a great Corruption in their *Morals*: The *Commons* are extream insolent, and many Crimes go unpuniſhed, if the Perſons that Commit them have either great Credit, or much Money. The poor *Minifters* here are under a terrible ſlavery; for the *Griſons* pretend, that in all times they had not only the *Patronage* of their *Churches*, but a power to diſmiſs their *Church-men* as they ſaw cauſe: How it is among the *Papiſts*, I cannot tell; but the *Dean* of the *Synod* of the *House of God* told me, they had an ill Cuſtom of *Ordaining* their *Minifters* without a Title, upon an Examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally ſix or ſeven hours, and when this Tryal was thus diſpatched, if the Perſon was found qualified, they *ordained* him; and it was too ordinary for thoſe that were thus

Ordained,

is all Ordained, to endeavour to undermine the *Ministers* already in imployment, if their People grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by Age; and often the Interest and Kinred of the Intruder carried the matter against the incumbent, without any colour a pretence; and in that case the *Synod* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Contry they Preach in *High Dutch*, and in other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is, a mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every *League* they have a *Synod*; and as the people chuse their *Ministers*, so in imitation of the *Switzers*, every *Synod* chuses their *Antistes* or Superintendent; he is called the *Dean* among the *Grisons*, and hath a sort of an Episcopal Power; but he is accountable to the *Synod*: The Office is for life; but the *Synod* upon great cause given, may make a change. The people of this Country are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have some tincture of the *Italian* temper. They are extream civil to *Strangers*; but it seems in all *Commonwealths* *Inn-keepers* think they have a right to exact upon *Strangers*, which one finds here, as well as in *Holland*, or in *Switzerland*.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the *Grisons* with a very extraordinary Story, which I had both from the *Ministers* of *Coire*, and several other *Gentlemen*, that saw in *April* 1685. about five hundred Persons of different Sexes and Ages, that past through the *Town*, who gave this

this account of themselves. They were the *habitants* of a *Valley* in *Tirol*, belonging for the greatest part to the *Arch-bishoprick* of *Salzburg*; but some of them were in the *Diocesses* of *Trent* and *Bresse*; they seemed to be a remnant of the old *Waldenses*; they worshipped neither *Images* nor *Saints*; and they believed the *Sacrament* was only a *Commemoration* of the *Death* of *Christ*; and in many other *Points* they had their peculiar *Opinions*, different from those of the *Church of Rome*; they knew nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calvinists*; and the *Grisons*, though their Neighbours, had never heard of this *Neighbourhood* of theirs to the *Protestant Religion*. They had *Mass* said among them; but some years since, some of the *Valley* going over *Germany* to earn somewhat by their labour, hapned to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better instructed in matters of *Religion*, and these brought back with them into the *Valley* the *Heidelberg Catechism* together with some other *German Books*, which over the *Valley*; and they being before that in good disposition, those *Books* had such an effect upon them, that they gave over going to *Mass* any more, and began to worship *God* in a way more suitable to the *Rules* set down in *Scripture*; some of their *Priests* concurred with them in this happy *Change*; but others, that adhered still to the *Mass*, went and gave the *Arch-bishop* of *Salzburg* an account of it; upon which he sent some into the *Country* to examine the *Truth* of the *Matter*.

exhort them to return to *Mess*; and to threaten them with all severity, if they continued obstinate: so they seeing a terrible Storm ready to break upon them, resolved to Abandon their houses, and all they had, rather than sin against their Consciences: And the whole *Inhabitants* of the *Valley*, Old and Young, Men and Women, the number of *two thousand*, divided themselves into several Bodies; some intended to go to *Brandenburgh*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about *five hundred* took the way of *Coire*, intending to disperse themselves in *Switzerland*. The *Swissers* told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity, and Modesty; for a Collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Tossane*, and from that, through the way that is justly called *Via Mala*. It is through the bottom between two *Rock*s, through which the *river* runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the *Rock* in some places, and in several places the steepness of the *Rock* being such, that a way could not be cut out, there are Beams driven into the *Rock*, over which Boards and Earth are laid; this way holds an hour: After that, there is for two hours good way, and we past through two considerable *Villages*; there is good lodging in both: from thence there is, for two hours Journey terrible Way, almost as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hours Journey good way to *Splugen*; which

which is a large *Village* of above *two hundred* Houses, that are well built, and the *Inhabitants* seem all to live at their ease, though they have no sort of soil but a little Meadow ground about them; This is the last *Protestant Church* that we saw in our way; it was well indowed; for the Provision of the *Minister* was near two hundred *Crowns*: Those of this *Village* are the Carriers between *Italy* and *Germany*, so they drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming; and we were told, that there pass generally a *hundred Horses* through this Town one day with another; and there are above five hundred Carriage Horses that belong to this Town. From this place we went mounting for three hours, till we got to the top of the *Hills*, where there is only one great *Inn*. After that the way was tolerably good for two hours; and for the next hours there is constant descent, which for the most part is as steep as if we were all the while going down stairs: At the foot of, this is a little *Village* called *Campdolein*, and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vast difference of the *Climate*; whereas we were freezing on the other side, the heat of the *Sun* was uneasy here, and also by the number of the *Beggars*, though it may seem the reverse of what one ought to expect, since the richest Country of *Europe*, is full of *Beggars*; and the *Grisons*, that are one of the poorest States, have no *Beggars* at all. One thing is also strange, that among the *Grisons*, the rich Wine of the *Valtelline*, after it

carried

carried three Days Journey, is sold cheaper than
the Wine of other Countries, where it
grows at the door: but there are no Taxes nor
impositions here. From *Campdolein* there is three
Hours Journey to *Chavennes*, all in a Slow descent,
and in some Places the Way is extream rugged
and stony *Chavennes* is very pleasantly scituated
at the very Foot of the *Mountains*; there runs
through the *Town* a pleasant little River: It is
nobly Built, and hath a great many Rich Vine-
yards about it: and the Rebound of the Sun-beams
from the *Mountains*, doth so increase the heats
here, that the Soil is as Rich here, as in any
place of *Italy*. Here one begins to see a Noble
Architecture in a great many Houses; in short,
all the Marks of a rich Soil, and a free Govern-
ment appear here. The *Town* stood a little more
to the North, about five hundred years ago, but
a Slice of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried
it quite; and at the Upper-end of the *Town* there
are some Rocks that look like Ruins, about which
there hath been a very extraordinary Expence,
to divide them one from another, and to make
them fit Places for *Forts* and *Castles*: the Marks
of the Tools appeared all over the Rock in one
place. I measured the Breadth of the one from
the other, which is twenty Foot, the Length is
four hundred and fifty Foot, and as we could
guess, the Rock was two hundred Foot high, cut
down on both sides in a Line as even as a Wall;
towards the top of one, the name *Salvius* is cut
in

in great Letters, a little *Gothick*. On the
of those *Rocks*, which are inaccessible, except
the one side, and to that the Ascent is extremely
uneasy, they had *Garrisons* during the *War*. The
Valtelino: there were fifteen hundred in *Genoa*,
in that which is in the middle: There falls down
frequently *Slices* from the *Hills*, that do extremely
ly fatten the Ground which they cover, so that
it becomes fruitful beyond expression: and I saw
a *Lime Tree*, that was planted eight and thirty
years ago, in a piece of Ground, which had been
so covered, that was two Fathom and a half
Compass. On both sides of the *River*, the *Towers*
and the *Gardens* belonging to it, cover the whole
Bottom, that lies between the *Hills*, and at the
Roots of the *Mountains* they dig great *Cellars*
and *Grottoes*, and strike a *hole* about a foot square
ten or twelve foot into the *Hill*, which all the
Summer long blows a fresh Air into the *Cellars*
so that the *Wine* of those *Cellars* drinks almost
as cold as if it were in *Ice*; but this Wind-pipe
does not blow when I was there, which was towards
the end of *September*: For the Sun opening the
Pores of the Earth, and rarifying the external
Air, that which is compressed within the caves
that are in the *Mountains*, rushes out with a con-
stant Wind; but when the operation of the Sun
is weakened, this course of the Air is less sensible.
Before or over those *Vaults* they build little pleasant
Rooms like *Summerhouses*, and in them they go
Collation generally at Night in *Summer*. I never

ne bigger *Grapes* than grow there; there is one
 cept bigger than the biggest *Damascene Plums* that
 exte we have in *England*.

There is a sort of *Wine* here and in the *Valte-*
Garonne, which I never heard named any where
 else, that is called *Aromatick-wine*, and as the
 taste makes one think it must be a composition
 for it tastes like a *Strong-water* drawn of *Spices*)
 and its strength being equal to a weak *Brandy*, dis-
 poses one to believe that it cannot be a *Natural*
Wine, and yet it is the pure juice of the *Grape*,
 without any mixture. The *Liquor* being singu-
 lar, I informed my self particularly of the way
 of preparing it: the *Grapes* are red, though it
 drinks white; they let the *Grapes* hang on the
Vines till *November*, that they are extream ripe,
 then they carry them to their *Garrets*, and set
 them all upright on their ends by one another
 for two or three months, then they pick all the
Grapes, and throw away those in which there is
 the least appearance of rottenness, so that they
 press none but sound *Grapes*: after they are
 pressed, they put the *Liquor* in an open *Vessel*, in
 which it throws up a scum, which they take off
 twice a day, and when no more scum comes up,
 which according to the difference of the Season
 is sooner or later (for sometimes the scum comes
 no more after eight days, and at other times it
 continues a fortnight) then they put it in a close
Vessel; for the first year it is extream sweet and
 luscious, but at the End of the year, they pierce

it a little higher than the middle of the Vell almost two thirds from the Bottom, and drink off till it cometh so low, and then every they fill it up anew: once a year in the Month of *March* it ferments, and cannot be drunk that is over,* which continues a Month; but their other *Wine* ferments not at that time. *Made Salu*, a Lady of that Country, who entertained us three Days with a Magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had *Wine* of this Composition, that was forty years old, and was so very strong, that one could hardly drink above a spoonful, and it tasted high of Spices though she assured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatsoever. Thus the heat that is in this *Wine*, becomes a fire, and distils it self, throwing up the most spirituous parts of it to the top of the Hogshead.

Both here, and in the *Grisons*, the *Meat* is very juicy, the *Fowl* is excellent, their *Roots* and *Herbs* very tasteful; but the *Fish* of their *Lakes* is beyond any thing I ever saw. They live in great Simplicity as to their Habit and Furniture but they have plenty of all things, and are extremely rich; the *Family* where we were so nobly entertained, is believed to have about two hundred thousand *Crowns*: Here the *Italian* custom of one only of a *Family* that marries, takes place generally. There is a sort of *Pots of Stone* that is used not only in all the *Kitchens* here, but almost all *Lombardy* over, called *Lavege*, the *Swiss* feed

eels oily and scaly, so that a Scale sticks to ones Finger that touches it, and is somewhat of the nature of a *Slate*; there are but three *Minas* of it known in these parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valtelline*, and the third in the *Grisons*; but the first is much the best; they generally cut it in the *Mine* round, of about a Foot and a half Diameter, and about a Foot and quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the *Stone* are driven about by a Wheel that is set a going by Water, and which is so ordered, that he who manages the Chizzel, very easily draws forward the Wheel out of the course of the Water; they turn off first the outward coat of this *Stone*, till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one *Pot* after another by those small and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a Nest of *Pots*, all one within another, the outward and biggest being as big as an Ordinary *Beef-pot*, and the inward *Pot* being no bigger than a small *Pipkin*; these they Arm with Hooks and Circles of Brass, and so they are served by them in their *Kitchens*. One of these *Stone-pots* takes heat and boils sooner than any *Pot* of *Mettle*; and whereas the Bottoms of *Mettle-pots* transmit the heat so intirely to the *Liquor* within, that they are not insufferably hot, the bottom of this *Stone-pot*, which is about twice so thick as a *Pot* of *Mettle*, burns extreamly; it never cracks neither gives it any sort of taste to the *Liquor* that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the Ground,

it is very brittle; yet this is repaired by patching it up; for they piece their broken *Pots* so close, though without any cement, by sowing with Iron-wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the Wire, there is not the least breach made, except that which the Wire both makes and fills. The passage to this *Mine* is very inconvenient; for they must creep into it for near *half a mile* through a *Rock*, that is so hard that the passage is not above three foot high, and so those that draw out the *Stones* creep all along upon their Belly, having a *Candle* fastned in their forehead, and the *Stone* laid on a sort of *Cushion* made for it upon their Hips. The *Stones* are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned some falls of *Mountains* in those parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary fate of the *Town* of *Pleurs*, that was about a league from *Chavennes* to the North, in the same bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raised: The *Town* was half the bigness of *Chavennes*, the number of the *Inhabitants* was about *two and twenty hundred* Persons, but it was much more Nobly Built; for besides the great *Palace* of the *Francken*, that cost some millions there were many other *Palaces* that were built by several rich *Faectors* both of *Milan*, and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the *situation* and *air*, as well as the *freedom* of the *Government* of the place, so they used to come hither during the *Heats*, and here they gave themselves all the indulgence

indulgences that a vast Wealth could furnish. By one of the *Palaces*, that was a little distant from the *Town*, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an out-house of the *Family* of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many *Palaces* in *Italy*; and certainly, *House* and *Gardens* could not cost so little as one hundred thousand *Crowns*. The voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and *Madam de Salis* told me, that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a *Protestant Ministers* Sermons, that Preached in a little *Church*, which those of the *Religion* had there, and warned them often of the terrible judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the 25th of *August* 1618. an *Inhabitant* came and told them to be gone; for he saw the *Mountains* cleaving; but he was laughed at for his pains: He had a *Daughter* whom he persuaded to leave all and go with him; but when she was gone out of *Town* with him, she called to mind that she had not locked the *Door* of a *Room* in which she had some things of *Value*, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of *Supper* the *Hill* fell down, and buried the *Town* and all the *Inhabitants*, so that not one *Person* escaped: The fall of the *Mountains* did so fill the *Channel* of the *River*, that the first news those of *Chavennes* had of it, was by the failing of their *River*; for three

or four hours there came not a drop of *Water*; but the *River* wrought for it self a new course, and returned to them; I could hear no particular Character of the *Man* who escaped, so I must leave the secret Reason of so singular a Preservation to the great discovery at the last Day of those steps of Divine Providence, that are now so unaccountable. Some of the *Family* of the *Franken* got some *Miners* to work under ground, to find out the *Wealth* that was buried in their *Palace*; for besides the *Plate* and *Furniture*, there was a great *Cash* and many *Jewels* in the House: the *Miners* pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their Country of *Tirol*, and Built fine Houses, and a great *Wealth* appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that *Treasure*. The Chief *Factors* of *Italy* have been *Grifons*; and they told me, that as the Trade of *Banking* began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over, a *Lombard* and a *Bank* signified the same thing, so the great *Bankers* of *Lombardy* were *Grifons*, and to this day the *Grifons* drive a great Trade in *Money*; for a *Man* there of a hundred thousand *Crowns* Estate, hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Country, but puts it out in the Neighbouring *States*: And the *Liberty* of the Country is such, that the *Natives* when they have made up *Estates* elsewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the best parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among those *Mountains*, of which
the

the very sight is enough to fill a Man with horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two hours through a plain to the *Lake of Chavennes*, which is almost round, and is about two Mile Diameter. This *Lake* falls into the *Lake of Como*, over against the *Fort Fuentes*; when we passed there, the Water was so low, that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank that lay between the two *Lakes*. The *Lake of Como* is about eight and forty Miles long, and four broad; it runs between two ranges of Hills: I did not stay long enough in *Como* to give any Description of it; for I thought to have returned that way from a little Tour that I made into the *Bailiages* that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugane*, *Locarno*, and *Bellinzona*: but I took another Course, so I saw nothing in *Como*; the best thing in it is a fine *Chappel*, which the present *Pope*, who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight Miles to *Codelago*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight Miles of *Lake*: This *Lake* doth not run in an even current, as the other *Lakes*, that rise under the *Alps*; but the scituation of the *Hills* about it, throws it into several courses.

The *Switzers* have here several little *Provinces*, or *Bailiages*, of which during the *Wars of Italy*, between the *Dukes of Milan* and the two *Crowns*, in *Francis the first*, and *Charles the Fifth's* time, they possessed themselves of as a Pledge for payment of their *Arrears*; and they were then such considerable *Allies*, that they made both the Com-

petitors for the *Dutchy of Milan* Court them by turns, and became the peaceable Possessors of almost all that tract that lies between the *Lake of Como* to the Country of the *Valeffi*, or the *Valleys*. The *Inhabitants* here are so well used, they live so free of all Impositions, and the *Switzers* Government is so gentle, that here I must tell you another Paradox, this is the worst Country, the least Productive, the most exposed to Cold, and the least Capable of Trade of all *Italy*; and yet it is by far the best Peopled of any that I saw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the *Bailiage* of *Lugane* alone, ninety nine *Villages*, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve Ancient *Cantons* have their turns of all the *Bailiages* and other Offices here: but when it comes to the turn of those of the *Religion*, their *Bailifs* must be contented with private Devotions in their own *House*, but can have no public Exercises, nor so much as a *Minister* in their Houses. For here, as in the *Valteline*, when the *Spaniards* confirmed the Right of the *Cantons* to those *Territories*, they made an exprefs Provision, that no *Religion* except the *Popish* should be tolerated here; so that the *Bailif*, who is the *Prince*, often hath not the free Liberty of his *Religion* in these Parts. The *Bailifs* here make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more Caution; for they take great care not to give the *Natives* any distast, though the Miseries,

to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live should by all appearance deliver their Masters from any great Apprehensions of a Revolt: A great many *Mechanicks* of all sorts live in these parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all *Taxes*. I was told, that some *Nephews* of *Popes*, in particular the *Barberines*, had treated with the *Switzers*, to buy this Country from them, and so to erect it into a *Principality*; and that they had resolved to offer twelve thousand *Crowns* to the twelve *Cantons*: but they found it would certainly be rejected, so they made not the proposition to the *Diet* of the *Cantons*, as they once intended: and it is certain, whenever this Country is brought under a Yoke, like that which the rest of *Italy* bears, it will be soon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws so many People to live in so ill a Soil, when they are in sight of the best Soil of *Europe*, but the easiness of the *Government*. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble *Lake*, it is six and fifty Miles long, and in most places six Miles broad and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great *Bay* to the Westward; and there lies here two Islands, called the *Borromean Islands*, that are certainly the loveliest spots of ground in the World; there is nothing in all *Italy*, that can be compared to them; they have the full view of the *Lake*; and the ground

rises so gently in them, that nothing can be imagined like the *Terrasses* here; they belong to two of the *Borromean Family*. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the *Head* of the *Family*, who is *Nephew* to the famous *Cardinal*, known by the name of *S. Carlo*: on the West-end lies the *Palace*, which is one of the best of *Italy*; for the Lodgings within, though the *Architecture* is but ordinary, there is one Noble Apartment above four and twenty foot high; and there is a vast Addition making to it; and here is a great Collection of Noble *Pictures*, beyond any thing I saw out of *Rome*: The whole *Island* is a Garden, except a little corner to the South, set off for a *Village* of about forty little Houses; and because the Figure of the *Island* was not more regular by Nature, they have Built great *Vaults* and *Porticos* along the *Rock*, which are all made *Grotesque*, and so they have brought it to a regular form by laying Earth over those *Vaults*. There is first a *Garden* to the East, that rises up from the *Lake* by five Rows of *Terrasses*, on the three sides of the *Garden* that are watered by the *Lake*; the Stairs are Noble; the Walls are all covered with *Oranges* and *Citrons*; and a more beautiful spot of a Garden cannot be seen: There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden, the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a Noble *Summer-house* all wainscotted, if I may speak so, with *Alabaster* and *Marble*, of a fine Colour

Colour, inclining to red; from this Garden one goes in a level to all the rest of the *Alleys* and *Parterres*, *Herb-Gardens* and *Flower-Gardens*; in all which there are variety of *Fountains* and *Arbors*; but the great *Parterre* is a surprizing thing; for as it is well furnished with *Statues* and *Fountains*, and is of a vast extent, and justly scituated to the Palace, so at the Further-end of it, there is a great *Mount*, that face of it that looks to the *Parterre* is made like a *Theater*, all full of *Fountains* and *Statues*, the height rising up in five several Rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourscore foot in front; and round this *Mount*, answering to the five Rows into which the *Theater* is divided, there goes as many *Terrasses* of Noble *Walks*; the *Walls* are all as close covered with *Oranges* and *Citrons* as any of our *Walls* in *England* are with *Laurel*: the Top of the *Mount* is seventy foot long and forty broad; and here is a vast *Cistern*, into which the Mill plays up the Water that must furnish all the *Fountains*: The *Fountains* were not quite finished when I was there; when all is finished, this place will look like an *Inchanted Island*. The Freshness of the Air, it being both in a *Lake*, and near the *Mountains*, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Prospect, and the delighting Variety that is here, makes it such a Habitation for *Summer*, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Sestio*, a miserable *Village* at the end of the *Lake*, and here I began

to feel a mighty change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifullest Country that can be imagined, the ground lies so even, it is so well watered, so sweetly divided by Rows of Trees, inclosing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compass, that it cannot be denied, that here is a vast extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long, and in many places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole Country is equal to the loveliest spots in all *England* or *France*; it hath all the Sweetness that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun, and a better Air; the Neighbour-hood of the Mountains causes a freshness of Air here, that makes the Soil the most desirable place to live in that can be seen, if the Government were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing but Poverty over all this rich Country. A Traveller in many places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy provisions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very severe Diet, in a Country that he should think flowed with Milk and Honey: but I shall say more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* discharges it self in the River *Tesine*, which runs with such a force, that we went thirty Miles in three hours, having but one Rower, and the Water was no way swelled. From this we went into the *Canale*, which *Francis the First* cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*; which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its Banks there are such Provisi-

ns to discharge the Water when it rises to such height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it should be; it lies also so even, that sometimes for six Miles together one sees the line so exact, that there is not the least crook: it is thirty Miles long, and is the best Advantage that the *Town of Milan* hath for Water-Carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long description of this great City, which is one of the noblest in the World, to be an Inland Town, that hath no great Court, no Commerce, either by Sea, or any Navigable River, and that is now the *Metropolis* of a very small State; for that which is not Mountainous in this State, is not above sixty Miles square, and yet it produces a Wealth that is surprizing: It pays for an establishment of seven and forty thousand Men, and yet there are not sixteen thousand Soldiers effectively in it; so many are eat up by those in whose hands the Government is lodged: But the Vastness of the Town, the Nobleness of the Buildings, and above all, the surprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents, are signs of great Wealth: The *Dome* hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothic manner; but for the vastness and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in Italy, *St. Peters* it self not excepted. It is all Marble, both Pavement and Walls, both outside and inside, and on the Top it is all flagg'd with Marble, and there

there is the vastest Number of *Niches* for *Statues* of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true, the *Statues* in some of the *Niches* are not proportioned to the *Niches* themselves; the *Frontispiece* is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with *Statues* and *Bas-reliefs*; and the *Pillars*, of which there are four Rows in the Body of the Church, have each of them eight *Niches* at the top, for so many *Statues*; and though one would think this Church so full of *Statues*, that almost every *Saint* hath his *Statue*, yet I was assured, they wanted seven thousand to finish the design; but these must chiefly belong to the *Frontispiece*: the Church, as I could measure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred Foot long, and two hundred wide; the *Quire* is wainscotted and carved in so extraordinary a manner, that I never saw *Passion* so well expressed in *Wood*: it contains sixty Stalls, and they have almost all the *Histories* of the *Gospel* represented in them. Just under the *Cupulo* lies *S. Carlo's* Body, as I was told, in a great Case of *Cristal* of vast value; but I could not come near it; for we were there on two *Holidays*, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the Superstition of the People for his Body, is such, that on a *Holiday* one runs a hazard that comes near it without doing some Reverence. His *Canonization* cost the Town a hundred thousand *Crowns*; they pretend they have *Miracles* too for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromeo*;

but

but they will not set about his *Canonization*, the price is so high. The *Plate* and other Presents made to *S. Carlo* are things of a prodigious value; some *Services* for the *Altar* are all of *Gold*, some very *Massive*, and set with *Jewels*, others so finely wrought, that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the mettle; the *Habits* and all the other *Ornaments* for the Function of his *Canonization* are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a *Prelate* of great merit, and according to the *Answer* that a *Fryer* made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him, how they came to qualify one of the worst of their *Princes* with the Title of *Saint* in an inscription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their *Benefactors*; never Man deserved of a Town this Title so justly as *Cardinal Borrospeo* did; for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his *Family*, but the honour of having produced so great a Man, which is a real temporal inheritance to it; for as there have been since that time, two *Cardinals* of that *Family*, so it is esteemed a *Casa Santa*; and every time that it produces an *Ecclesiastick* of any considerable merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this *Archbishoprick*; for if there were one of the *Family* capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might dispose the *State* to a *Rebellion*, and he were a bold Man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this *Family*. He laid out a great deal on the *Dome*, and consecrated it, though

though the work will not be quite finished yet for some *Ages*; that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian Priests*, never to finish a great design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinished Estate, they may be always drawing great Donatives to it, from the Superstition of the People. He built the *Arch-Bishops Palace*, which is very noble, and a *Seminary*, a *Colledge* for the *Switzers*, several *Parish Churches*, and many *Convents*. In short, the whole *Town* is full of the marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the *Churches* of *Milan* strike one with amazement, the *Buildings*, the *Painting*, the *Altars*, and the *Plate*, and every thing in the *Convents*, except their *Libraries*, are all signs both of great Wealth and of a very powerful Superstition; but their *Libraries* not only here, but all *Italy* over, are scandalous things; the *Room* is often fine, and richly adorned, but the *Books* are few, ill bound, and worse chosen; and the ignorance of the *Priests* both *secular* and *Regular* is such, that no Man, that hath not had occasion to discover it, can easily believe it. The *Convent* of *S. Victor*, that is without the *Town*, is by much the richest, it is composed of *Canons Regular*, called in *Italy* the *Order of Mount Olive*, or *Olivetans*; that of the *Barnabites* is extream Rich, there is a *Pulpit* and a *Confessional* all in-laid with *Agates* of different colours, finely spotted *Marbles*, and of *Lapis Lazulis*, that are thought almost inestimable. *S. Laurence* has a noble *Cupulo*, and a *Pulpit* of the same form with that of the *Barnabites*. The

Jesuites,

Jesuits, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *S. Sebastianians* are very Rich. The *Cittadel* is too well known to need a description; it is very regularly built, and is a most effectual restraint to keep the *Town* in order, but it could not stand out against a good *Army* three days; for it is so little, and so full of Buildings, that it could not resist a shower of *Bombs*. The *Hospital* is indeed a Royal Building; I was told it had Ninety Thousand *Crowns* Revenue: The old *Court* is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new *Court* that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot square, and there are three rows of *Corridors* or *Galleries* all round the *Court*, one in every Stage, according to the *Italian* manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a *Gallery* before every door: It is true, these take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten Foot broad; but then here is an open space, that is extream cool on that side where the Sun doth not lye; for it is all open to the Air, the *Wall* being only supported by *Pillars*, at the distance of fifteen or twenty Foot one from another. In this *Hospital* there are not only *Galleries* full of *Beds* on both sides, as is ordinary in all *Hospitals*; but there are also a great many *Chambers*, in which Persons, whose condition was formerly distinguished, are treated with a particular Care. There is an out-house, which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the *Walls*, which belongs

to this *Hospital*, it is an exact quarter of a mile square, and there are three-hundred and fifty *Rooms* in it, and a *Gallery* runs all along before the *Chambers*, so that as the service is convenient the sick have a covered walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vast square there is an *Octagonal Chappel*, so contrived, that the sick from their Beds may see the *Elevation* of the *Host*, and adore it: This *House* is for the *Plague*, or for infectious *Fevers*; and the *Sick* that want a fresh *Air*, are also removed hither.

As for the *Devotions* of this place, I saw here the *Ambrosian Office*, which is distinguished from the *Roman*, both in the *Musick*, which is much simpler, and in some other *Rites*: the *Gospel* is read in a high *Pulpit* at the lower end of the *Quire*, that so it may be heard by all the People; though this is needless, since it is read in a *Language* that they do not understand: when they go to say high *Mass*, the *Priest* comes from the high *Altar* to the lower end of the *Quire*, where the *Offertory* of the *Bread* and the *Wine* is made by some of the *Laity*; they were *Nuns* that made it when I was there; I heard a *Capucin* Preach here; it was the first *Sermon* I heard in *Italy*, and I was much surprized at many *Comical Expressions* and *Gestures*, but most of all with the *Conclusion*; for there being in all the *Pulpits* of *Italy* a *Crucifix* on the side of the *Pulpit* towards the *Altar*; he, after a long address to it, at last in a forced *Transport*, took it in his *Arms*, and hugged

suggested it, and kissed it: But I observed, that before he *kissed* it, he seeing some dust on it, blew it off very carefully; for I was just under the *pulpit*: He entertained it with a long and tender *Carefs*, and held it out to the People, and would have forced Tears both from himself and them; yet I saw none shed. But if the *Sermon* in the Morning surprized me, I wondred no less at two *Discourses* that I heard in one *Church*, at the same time, in the Afternoon: for there were two Bodies of Men set down in different places of the *Church*, all covered, and two *Laymen* in ordinary habits were entertaining them with *Discourses* of Religion in a Catechistical stile: These were *Confrairies*, and those were some of the more devout, that instructed the rest. This, as I never saw any where else, so I do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan*, or not. My *Conductor* could not speak *Latin*, and the *Italian* there is so different from the true *Tuscan*, which I only knew, that I could not understand him when he was engaged in a long discourse, so I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think, it might have been some institution of *Cardinal Borromeos*. The *Ambrosian Library*, founded by *Cardinal Frederick Borromeo*, is a very noble Room, and well furnished, only it is too full of *Schoolmen*, and *Canonists*; which are the chief *Studies* of *Italy*; and it hath too few *Books* of a more solid and useful learning. One part of the disposition of the Room was Pleasant; there is a great number of

of *Chairs*, placed all round it at a competent distance from one another; and to every Chair there belongs a *Desk*, with an *Ecrivoire*, that has a *Pen*, *Ink*, and *Paper* in it; so that every Man finds tools here for such extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of *Manuscripts* at the end of the great *Gallery*, but the *Library* knows little of them; a great many of them relate to their *Saint Charles*. I saw some fragments of *Latin Bibles*, but none seemed to be above a hundred *Years* old; there are also some fragments of *Saint Ambroses Works*, and of *Saint Jeroms Epistles* that are of the same antiquity. I was sorry not to find *Saint Ambrose's Works* intire, that I might have seen, whether the *Books* of the *Sacrament* ascribed to him in ancient *Copies*; for perhaps they belong to a more modern *Author*. It is true in these *Books*, the Doctrine of a sort of a corporeal presence is asserted in very high expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it, than all those Citations can be for it; for the *Author* gives us the former Words of the *Prayer of Consecration* in his time which he prefaces with some solemnity: *you know how the change is wrought, bear the Heavenly Words? For the Priest saith, &c.* But whereas in the present *Canon* of the *Mass*, the *Prayer of Consecration* is for a good part of it very near in the same Words with those which he mentions there is one essential difference; for in the *Canon* they now pray, that the *Hosty* may be to them

Body and Blood of Christ, (which by the way doth agree too well with the notion of *Transubstantiation*, and approacheth more to the Doctrine of *Lutherans*;) whereas in the *Prayer*, cited by *that Author*, the *Hosty* is said to be *the Figure of Body and Blood of Christ*: here is the Language of the whole *Church* of that time, and in the most important part of *the Divine Office*, which signifieth more to me, than a thousand *Quotations* out of particular Writers, which are but their *Private Opinions*: but this is the *Voice* of the whole *Body* in *Addresses* to God: and it seems, the *Church* of *Rome*, when the new Doctrine of the *Corporal Presence* was received, saw that this *Prayer of Consecration* could not consist with it, which made her change such a main part of the *Office*. This gave me a curiosity every where to search for *Ancient Offices*, but I found none in the *Abbey* of *St. Germain*, that seemed older than the times of *Charles the Great*; so I found none of any great *Antiquity* in all *Italy*: Those published by *Cardinal Bona*, and since by *P. Mabillon*, that were brought from *Heidelberg*, are the most ancient that are in the *Vatican*; but these seem not to be above eight hundred years old: There are none of the ancient *Roman Offices* now to be seen in the *Vatican*. I was amazed to find none of any great *Antiquity*; which made me conclude, that either they were destroyed, that so the difference between *Ancient* and *Modern Rituals* might not be turned against that *Church*, as an undeniable Evidence, to prove the

the *Changes* that *she* hath made in *divine* *Matter* or, that they were so well kept, that *Her* were not to be suffered to look into them. to return to the *Ambrosian Library*, there is a *Manuscript* of great *Antiquity*, though not of great consequence, which is *Ruffinus's* Translation of *Josephus*, that is written in the old *Roman* which is very hard to be read. But there is a in the curious Collection that *Count Mascardo* made at *Verona*, which by the date appears to have been written in *Theodosius's* time, which is the sort of writing with the *Manuscript* of *Ruffinus*, so it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus's* his own time, and this is the most valuable, though the least known Curiosity in the whole *Library*.

I need not say any thing of the curious *Wealth* in *Christal* that are to be seen in *Milan*, the greatest quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps* and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any further enlargement. It is certain the *Alps* have much *Wealth* shut up in their *Rocks*, if the *Inhabitants* knew how to search for it: But I heard of no *Mines* that were wrought, except *Iron Mines*; yet by the colourings, that in many places, the *Fountains* make, as they run along the *Rocks*, one sees cause to believe, that there are *Mines* and *Minerals* shut up within them. *Gold* hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The last curiosity that I shall mention of the *Town of Milan*, is the *Cabines* of the *Chanon* *Sestala*, which is now in his *Brothers* hands, where there

There are a great many very valuable things, both Art and Nature: there is a lump of *Ore*, in which there is both *Gold* and *Silver*, and *Emeralds*, and *Diamonds*, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious motions, where an unseen Spring, a *Ball*, after it hath row'd down through many winding descents, is row'n up, and so it seems to be a perpetual motion; this is done in several forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the vulgar. Many motions of little *Animals*, that run about by springs, are also very pretty. There is a *Loadstone* of a vast force, that carries a great *Chain*: There is also a monstrous *Child*, that was lately born in the *Hospital*, which is preserved in *Spirit of Wine*: it is double below, it hath one Breast and Neck, two pair of Ears, a vast Head, and but one Face. As for the *Buildings* in *Milan*, they are big and substantial; but they have not much regular, or beautiful *Architecture*: The *Governor's Palace* hath some noble Apartments in it: The chief Palace of the Town is that of the *Familiari*, which was built by a *Bankier*. There is one Inconvenience in *Milan*, which throws down all the Pleasure that one can find in it: They have no *glass Windows*, so that one is either exposed to the *Air*, or shut up in a *Dungeon*: and this is so universal, that there is not one House of ten that hath *Glass* in their *Windows*: The same Defect is in *Florence*, besides all the small Towns of *Italy*, which is an effect of their Poverty:

ty: For what by the Oppression of the Government, what by the no less squeezing Oppression of their *Priests*, who drain all the rest of their Wealth that is not eat up by the *Prince*, to enrich *Churches* and *Convents*, the People here are reduced to a Poverty, that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their *Churches*; and this is going on so constantly in *Italy*, that it is scarce accountable from whence so much a Treasure can be found; but *Purgatory* is a Wealth not easily exhausted. The Wealth of the *Italian* consists chiefly in their *Silks*, and that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Importations that the *East India Companies* brings into *Europe*, that *Italy* feels this very sensibly, and languishes grievously by the great fall that is in the *Silk Trade*. There is a great magnificence in *Milan*; the *Nobility* affect to make a noble Appearance, both in their Cloaths, their Coaches, and their Apartments; and the *Women* go abroad with more Freedom here, than in any *Town* of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am

Postscript.

In the Account that I gave you of *Genoa*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary Person that is there, *Mistress Walkier*; her Father is a *Staff-House*, she lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a Stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper part of her

ve so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night: and when any Person stands between her and the light, she will distinguish by the Head and it's dress a Man from a Woman; but when she turns down her Eyes, she sees nothing: she hath a vast Memory; besides the *French*, that is her Natural Language, she speaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*: she hath all the *Psalms* by heart, in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: she understands the *Old Philosophy* well; and is now studying the *New*: she hath studied the Body of *Divinity* well, and hath the *Text* of the *Scriptures* very ready: On all which matters I had long conversation with her; she not only *sings* well, but she Plays rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told, she played on the *Violin*, but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she *Writes* legibly: in order to her learning to write, her Father, who is a worthy man, and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnisheth her with Masters of all sorts, ordered *Letters* to be Carved in Wood, and she by feeling the *Characters*, formed such an *Idea* of them, that she *Writes* with a *Crayon* so distinctly, that her Writing can be well Read, of which I have several Essays. I saw her Write; she doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; she hath a Machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her always in Line. But that which is above all the rest, she is a Person of extraordinary Devotion,

great

great resignation to the Will of God, and a profound humility: The *Proceptor*, that her Father kept in the House with her, hath likewise wonderful Faculty of acquiring Tongues. When he came first to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he spoke not a word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he preacht in *French* correctly, and with a good Accent: He also began to study *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the end of the following *February* he preacht in *Italian* his accent was good, and his stile was florid which was very extraordinary; for the *Italian* Language is not spoken in *Geneva*, though the rest of the *Italians* do keep up still an *Italian Church* there.

THE THIRD LETTER.

Florence, the 5th of November, 1685.

I Have now another Month over my Head since I Writ last to you, and so I know you expect an Account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me since my last from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we pass through *Lodi*, a miserable Garrison, though a Frontier Town; but indeed, the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as those of the other *Princes* of *Italy*, shew, that they are not very apprehensive of one another; and when

when one passes through those places, which are represented in *History*, as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge, that the sight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them a great many degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was so long the seat of War, could not stand out against a good Army now so many days, as it did then years. The Garrison of *Crema*, which is the first of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than that of *Lodi*, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominion live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate sends *Podestà's*, much like the *Bailifs* of the *Switzers*, who order the Justice and the Civil Government of the *Jurisdiction* assigned them: There is also a *Captain General*, who hath the *Military Authority* in his hands; and these two are Checks upon one another; as the *Bassà's* and the *Cadi's* are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema*, the Town is so small, that both these are in one Person. We were there in the time of the Fair; *Linnen Cloath*, and *Cheese* (which though it goes by the name of the *Parmesan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Commodities of the Fair. The magnificence of the *Podestà* appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches, in which he and his Lady ride, were both extraordinary rich: his was a huge Bed-coach, all the our-side black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe,

Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowered with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Brescia* which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth; here they make the best *Barrils* for *Pistols* and *Muskets* of all *Italy*: there are great Iron Works near it; but the *War* with the *Turks* had occasioned an order, that none might be sold without a Permission from *Venice*: They are building a Noble *Dome* at *Brescia*: I was shew'd a *Nunnery* there, which is now under a great Disgrace; some years ago, a new *Bishop* coming thither, began with the Visitation of that *Nunnery*: he discover'd two *Vaults*, by one, Men came ordinarily into it: and by another, the *Nuns* that were big, went and lay in of Child-bed: when he was examining the *Nuns* severely concerning those *Vaults*, some of them told him, that his own *Priests* did much worse. He shut up the *Nuns*, so that those who are profess'd live still there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the House will soon come to an end. The *Cittadel* lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here, and in *Crema*, the Towns have begun a Complement within these last ten or twelve years to their *Podestas*, which is a matter of great Ornament to their *Palaces*, but will grow to a vast charge; for they erect *Statues* to their *Podestas*: and this being once begun, must be carried on; otherwise those to whom the like honour is not done, will resent it as a high affront; and the

Revenge

Revenge of the Noble *Venetians*, are dreadful things to their Subjects. This name of *Podesta* is very ancient; for in the *Roman* times, the chief *Magistrates* of the lesser *Towns* were called the *Potestas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal*, *Fidenarium Gabiorum esse Potestas*.

From *Brescia*, the beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted; for as all the way from *Milan* to *Brescia* is as one Garden, so here on the one side we come under the *Mountains*, and we pass by the *Lake* of *Guarda*, which is forty Miles long, and where it is broadest, is twenty Miles over: The Miles indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream short; for I walkt often four or five Miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common Mile; but in *Tuscany* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight Miles on this side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many rich Churches in it: but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little Money going, that it is not easie here to change a *Pistol*, without taking their Coyn of base Alloy which doth not pass out of the *Veronesie*: for this seems a strange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to suffer, those small *States*, to retain still a Coyn peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the *Amphitheater*, one of the least of all that the *Romans* built, but the best preserved; for the most of the great Stones of the outside are pickt out;

yet the great slopping *Vault*, on which the rows of the seats are laid, is intire; the rows of the seats are also intire, they are four and forty Rows; every Row is a foot and half high, and as much in breadth, so that a Man sits conveniently in them under the feet of those of the higher Row: and allowing every Man a foot and a half, the whole *Amphitheater* can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the *Vaults*, under the Rows of Seats, were the stalls of the *Beasts* that were presented to entertain the Company: the thickness of the Building, from the outward Wall to the lowest Row of Seats, is ninety foot: But this Noble Remnant of *Antiquity*, is so often, and so copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the *Count Mascardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of *Rooms*, all furnisht with *Antiquities*, and *Rarities*. There are some old *Inscriptions*, made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the great honour of *M. Crassius*: There is a Collection of *Medals* and *Medaillons*, and of the *Roman Weights*, with their Instruments for their *Sacrifices*, there are many *Curiosities of Nature*, and a great Collection of *Pictures*, of which many are of *Paul Veronese's* Hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona*, that riseth up in Terrasses the whole height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient *Inscriptions*, which belongs to *Count Giusto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is thirty Miles,

Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*; for there is all the way as it were a Succession of Gardens, the ground is better cultivated here, than I saw it in any other place of *Italy*: But the *Wine* is not good; for at the roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree, to which it joyns; but the Soil is too rich to produce a rich Wine; for that requires a dry ground. There is near the *Lake of Guarda* a very extraordinary *Wine*, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of *Canary*, it is not made till *Christmas*, and from thence it carries the Name of *Holy Wine*; and it is not to be drunk till *Midsummer*; for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear; but I have not marked down how long it may be kept: we had it there for a Groat an *English* quart; I wondred that they did not trade with it. All the *Cattle* of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their *Hogs* are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reasons of these things: It is certain, *Hogs flesh* in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*, whether the truffs on which they feed much in Winter, occasion this or not, I know not; the husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty nourishment to them; but *Cattle* of that grayish colour, are certainly weaker: The Carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them; and this is very hard work in *Lombardy*, when it hath rained ever so little; for the ground being quite level, and

there being no raised High-ways, or Cause-ways, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath still more of its ancient liberty reserved than any of these Towns, as *Padua* hath less; for it delivered it self to the *Venetians*; whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one sees the marks of Liberty in *Vincenza*, in the Riches of their *Palaces* and *Churches*, of which many are newly built: they have a modern *Theater*, made in imitation of the ancient *Roman Theaters*. Count *Valarano's* Gardens at the Port of *Verona*, is the finest thing of the Town; there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, some as big as a Mans Body, but those are covered all the Winter long; for in this appears the sensible difference of *Lombardy* from those parts of *Italy*, that lye to the South of the *Apenin*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes, as we do in *England*, that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the Breezes, that blow sometimes so sharp from the *Alps*, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuscany*, they grow as other Trees in their Gardens; and in the Kingdom of *Naples*, they grow wild, without any care or cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy day, and there I saw a preparation for a Procession that was to be in the afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French Papist* said to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was so gross. The Statue of the Virgin was

of Wood, so finely painted, that I thought the head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on it's Head, and was set full of Flowers: how they did when it was carryed about, I do not know; but in the morning all people ran to it, and said their prayers to it, and Kissed the Ground before it, with all the appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is eighteen miles to *Padua*, all like a Garden: here one sees the decays of a vast City, which was once one of the biggest of all *Italy*; the compass is the same that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houses there go almost for nothing; the Air is extream good, and there is so great a plenty of all things, except Money, that a little Money goes a great way. The *University* here, though so much supported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty *Professors*, yet sinks extreamly: there are no Men of any great Fame now in it: and the quarrels among the *Students* have driven away most of the *Strangers* that used to come and study here; for it is not safe to stir abroad here after Sun Set: The number of the *Palaces* here is incredible, and though the *Nobility* of *Padua* is almost quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their Ancient *Palaces* shews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the Ancient Quarrels that were in all those Conquered Cities continue still among them; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take

their *Revenge*s afterwards, both comes under the *Bando* by this means, and the Confiscation goes to the *Senate*. At some times of *Grace*, when the *Senate* wants Money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty Persons are incredible. In *Vincenza*, and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by *Monsieur Patin*, that Learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a *Professor* in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last *Grace*; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The *Nobility* of *Padua*, and of the other *Towns*, seem not to see what a profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families: for one *Family* in the same mans time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thousand *Ducats* Revenue, to less than three thousand, by it's falling at several times under the *Bando*: But their Jealousies and their *Revenge*s are pursued by them with so much vigor, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the *Amphitheater*, though nothing but the outward Wall stands: There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the *City*, and an outward, without that, called the *Bourgo*; but though there is a Ditch about the *City*, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in compass; it lies almost round: The publick *Hall* is the Noblest of *Italy*.

The

The *Dome* is an Ancient and mean Building: But the Church of *St. Anthony*, especially the *Holy Chappel* in it, where the *Saint* lies, is one of the best pieces of modern Sculpture; for round the Chappel, the chief *Miracles* in the legend of that *Saint* are represented in *Mezzo Relievo*, in a very surprizing manner: The Devotion that is paid to this *Saint*, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing: he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his sake: But among the little Vows that hang without the *Holy Chappel*, there is one that is the highest pitch of *Blasphemy* that can be imagined, *Exaudit*, speaking of the *Saint*, *quos non audit & ipse Deus*; he hears those whom God himself doth not hear. *St. Justina* is a Church so well ordered within, the *Architecture* is so beautiful, it is so well inlightned, and the *Cupulo's* are so advantageously placed, that if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best Churches of *Italy*; but the Building is of Brick, and it hath no Frontispiece; there are many new Altars, made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of *Statues* of Marble. This *Abby* hath a hundred thousand *Ducats* of Revenue, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine Order*. *Cardinal Barberigo* is *Bishop* here; he seems to set *St. Carlo* before him as his pattern; he hath founded a Noble *Seminary* for the secular *Priests*; he lives in a constant discipline himself, and endeavours to re-

form his *Clergy* all he can; but he is now in terms with his *Canons*, who are all *Noble Venetians* and so allow themselves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all respects a very extraordinary Man.

In the *Venetian Territory* their Subjects live ease and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their *Quarrels*; but though the Taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the *Peasants* live most miserably; yet on all hands round about them, the Oppressions being more intolerable, they know not whether to go for ease; whereas on the contrary, the miseries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly those of the *Ecclesiastical State*, send in an increase of people among them, so that they are well stocked with people; but the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding *Military* matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their *Wars*; this jealousy is the true ground of that maxim, though another is pretended, that is more plausible, which is, their Care of their own people, whom they study to preserve, and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expose their Subjects. It is certain; a revolt here, were no hard matter to effectuate; for the *Garrisons* and *Fortifications* are so slight, that those great *Towns* could easily shake off their yoke, if it were not for the *Factions* that still reign among them,

them, by which one party would chuse rather to expose the other to the rigor of the *Inquisitors*, than concur with them in asserting their Liberty; and the *Inquisitors* in such cases proceed so secretly, and yet so effectually, that none dares trust another with a Secret of such consequence; and the oppressed Nobility of those States, retain still so much of their old and unsubdued Insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as secure in those Conquests, as if they had many strong *Citadels*, and numerous *Garrisons* spread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many *Palaces* of the Noble *Venetians* on both sides of the River, Built with so great a Variety of *Architecture*, that there is not one of them like another; there is also the like diversity in the laying out of their Gardens; and here they retire during the hot Months; and some allow themselves all the excesses of dissolute Liberty that can possibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina* which is at the mouth of the *Brent*, we pass for five or six Miles on the *Lagunes*, or shallows, to *Venice*; these shallows sink of late so much, that the preserving *Venice* still an *Island* is like to become as great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the *Sea* is to the *Dutch*; for they use all possible industry to cleanse the Channels of their *Lagunes* and to keep them full of Water: and yet many think, that the Water hath failed so much in this last age, that if it continues to abate at the same

same rate, within an Age or two more, *Venezia* may become a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the most surprizing sight in the whole World, to see so vast a *City*, scituated thus in the *Sea*, and such a number of *Islands* so united together by *Bridges*, brought to such a regular Figure, the *Pilosity* supplying the want of Earth to build on, and all so nobly built, which is of all the things that one can see the most amazing. And though this *Republick* is much sunk from what it was, both by the great Losses they have suffered in their *Wars* with the *Turks*, and by the great decay of *Trade*, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vast plenty of all things in this place. I will not offer to describe neither the *Church* nor the *Palace* of *S. Mark*, which are too well known to need a long digression to be made for them; the Painting of the Walls, and the Roofs of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the *Palace*, are of vast value: Here I saw that Story of *Pope Alexander* the III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*. The Nobleness of the Stair-cases, the Riches of the Halls, and the Beauty of the whole Building, are much prejudiced by the Beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common House of Office, than so Noble a *Palace*: And the great Hall, where the whole Body of the Nobility meet, in the *Great Council*, hath nothing but the roof and walls that answers to such an Assembly; for the Seats are
 liker

liker the benches of an Auditory of Scholars, than of so glorious a Body. When the two sides of this *Palace* are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the gloriouslest *Palaces* that the World can shew. The two sides that are most seen, the one facing the square of *S. Mark*, and the other the great *Canale*, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble, but the *War of Candy* put a stop to the Building. *St. Mark's Church* hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vast Riches of the Building, it is dark and low; but the pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole roof is also Mosaick, the outside and inside are of such excellent Marble, the Frontispeice is adorned with so many Pillars of *Porphyry* and *Jasper*, and above all with the four Horses of *Corinthian Brass*, that *Tiridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Constantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the gilding is still very bright, that when all this is considered, one doth no where see so much cost brought together. I did not see the *Gospel of St. Mark*, which is one of the valuablest things of the *Treasure*; but they do not now open it to Strangers; yet *Doctor Grandi*, a Famous Physitian there, told me, that by a particular order, he was suffered to open it; he told me, it was all Writ in *Capital Letters*, but the Characters were so worn out, that though he could discern the Ends of some Letters, he could not see enough to help him to distinguish them,

or to know whether the M.S. was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not say one Word of the *Arsenal*; for I saw it in its worst State, the War that is now on foot having disfurnished a great deal of it, so hath been often described, and it is known to be the Noblest *Magazine*, the best ordered, and of the greatest variety, that is in the whole World: its true, it is all that this *State* hath; so that if the *Magazines* of other *Princes*, which lie spread up and down in the different Places of their Dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater shew. The Noblest *Convent* of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called *Saint John* and *Saint Paul*; the Church and Chappels are vastly rich: there is one of *Saint Luke's Madonna's* here, as they pretend; the *Dormitory* is very great; the Room for the *Library*, and every thing in it, except the *Books*, is extream fine. But *Saint George's* which is a *Convent* of the *Benedictines*, in an *Isle* intirely possessed by them, over against *Saint Mark's Square*, is much the richest: the *Church* is well contrived, and well adorned: and not only the whole Building is very magnificent; but which is more extraordinary at *Venice*, they have a large Garden, and noble Walks in it. The *Redemptore* and the *Salute*, are two Noble Churches, that are the effects of Vows that the *Senate* made when they were afflicted with the *Plague*; the latter is much the finer, it is to the *Virgin*; and the other is on'y to our *Saviour*: so naturally doth the *Devotion* of that *Church* carry

It higher for the *Mother* than the *Son*. It is true, the *Salute* is latter than the other, so no wonder if the *Architecture* and the *Riches* exceed that which is more *Ancient*. The *School of Saint Roch*, and the *Chappel*, and *Hall*, are full of great pieces of *Tintorets*: a *Cena*, of *Paulo Veronese* in the *Refectory* of *St. George*, and the *Picture* of *St. Peter* the *Martyr* of *Titians*, are the most celebrated pieces of *Venice*: *Duke Pesaro's* *Tomb* in the *Frairy* is the *Noblest* I ever saw. But if the riches of all the *Convents*, and the *Parish Churches* of *Venice* amazed me, the *Fronts* especially, many of which are of *white Marble*, beautified with several *Statues*; the meanness of the *Library* of *St. Mark* did not less surprize me. There are in the *Antichamber* to it, *Statues* of vast value, and the whole *Roof* of the *Library* is composed of several pieces of the greatest *Masters* put in several *Frames*: but the *Library* hath nothing answerable to the *Riches* of the *Cafe*; for the *Greek Manuscripts* are all modern, I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old: I was indeed told, that the last *Library-keeper* was accused for having conveyed away many of their *Manuscripts*; and that four years ago being clapt in *Prison* for this by the *Inquisitors*, he, to prevent further Severities, Poisoned himself. I went to the *Convent* of the *Servi*; but I found *Father Paul* was not in such consideration there, as he is elsewhere. I asked for his *Tomb*, but they made no account of him

him, and seemed not to know where it was; is true, the Person to whom I was recommended was not in *Venice*, so perhaps they refined too much in this matter. I had great Discourse with some at *Venice* concerning the *Memorials* out of which *F. Paul* drew his *History*, which are no doubt preserved with great care in their *Archives*; and since the *Transactions* of the *Council of Trent*, they are of great Importance, so they are become now much controverted, by the different Relations that *F. Paul*, and *Cardinal Pallavicini* have given the World of that matter; the only way to put an end to all Disputes in matter of Fact, is to print the *Originals* themselves. A Person of great Credit at *Venice*, promised to me, to do his utmost, to get that Proposition set on foot, though the great Exactness that the Government there hath always affected, as to the matter of their *Archives*, is held so sacred, that this made him apprehend, they would not give way to any such search. The Affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long Conversation that I had with a Person of great Eminence at *Venice*, that as he was long at *Constantinople*, so he was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*; he told me, he was at *Constantinople* when the Inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek Church* was set on foot; occasioned by the Famous Dispute between *Mr. Arnaud* and *Mr. Claude*, he being a zealous *Roman Catholick*, was dealt with to assist in that business; but being a Man of great Honour

Honour and Sincerity, he excused himself, and said, he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad Opinion of the *Greeks*; and he told me, *That none of their Priests were more inveterate Enemies to the Church of Rome than those that were bred up at Rome*; for they, to free themselves of the prejudices that their Countrymen are apt to conceive against them, because of their Education among the *Latins*, do effect to shew an Opposition to the *Latin Church* beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was such, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, so a very little Money, or the hope of Protection from any of the *Ambassadors* that came from the *West*, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them. He added one thing, that though he firmly believed *Transubstantiation* himself, he did not think they believed it, let them say what they pleased themselves; he took his measures of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they said: For their *Rites* not being changed now for a great many ages, were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the Tradition of their Doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw Advantages or Protection set before them; therefore he concluded, that since they did not adore the *Sacrament* after the Consecration, that was an evident sign that they did

did not believe the *Corporal Presence*; and was a force well able to balance all their Subscriptions. He told me, he was often scandalized to see them open the Bag in which the *Sacrament* was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect, more than when they shewed any *Manuscript*; and he looked on *Adoration* as such a necessary Consequent of *Transubstantiation*, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practice the former. To this I will add what an Eminent *Catholick* at *Paris* told me: he said, the *Originals* of those Attestations, were in too exact and too correct a stile, to have been formed in *Greece*; he assured me, they were penned at *Paris*, by one that was a Master of the Purity of the *Greek Tongue*. I do not name the Persons, because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young *Woman* that spake five *Tongues* well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua*, according to the ordinary Forms; but which was beyond all, she was a Person of such extraordinary Vertue and Piety, that she is spoken of as a Saint; she died some Months before I came to *Venice*: she was of the noble Family of the *Cornaro's*, though not of the three chief Branches, which are *Saint Maurice*, *Saint Paul*, and *Calle*, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned *Queen of Cyprus*, but the distinction of her Family was *Piscopia*. Her extraordinary

Ordinary merit made all People unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent of the one side: for though the *Cornaro's* reckon themselves of size of *Nobility* beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Genoese's* Daughter so long, that he had some Children by her, at last for their sakes married the Mother, and payed a considerable Fine to save the forfeiture of *Nobility*, which his Children must have undergone, by reason of the meanness of the Mothers Birth. The *Cornaro's* carry it so high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themselves *Nuns*, because they thought their own Name was so Noble, that they could not induce themselves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is also one of the ancientest Families, that was extream rich, and she had scarce any portion at all, (for the *Cornaro's* are now very low) some of their Friends came to wish them joy of so advantageous a Match; but they very coldly rejected the Complement, and bid the others go and wish the *Sagredo's* joy, since they thought the Advantage was wholly of their side.

There are of truly Ancient Noble Families of *Venice*, four and twenty yet remaining, and even among these, there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in rank: since the first Formation of their *Senate*, they have created many *Senators*. In their Wars with *Genoa* they conferred that

that honour on thirty Families: several of *Generals* have had that honour given them as a reward of their service: They have also offered this honour to some Royal Families; for the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon*, were Nobles of *Venice*; and *Henry* the III. when he came through *Venice* from *Poland*, to take possession of the *Crown* of *France*, went and sat among them, and took his *Ballot* as a Noble *Venetian*: many *Popes* have procured this honour for their *Nephews*. Once the *Barberines* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others asked it, so it stuck at this. But during the *War* of *Cardinal Francis Barberin* gave twelve thousand *Crowns* a Year towards the War, and the temporary found for making them Noble *Venetians* was, the *Queen Mother* of *France* moved the *Senate* to grant it. In all the Creations of *Senators* before the last *War* of *Candy*, they were free; and the Considerations were, either great Services, or the great Dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called *Ducal Families* and those that were called simply *New Families*; the Reason of the former designation is not rightly understood; but one that knew all that related to that Constitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it: That which naturally occurs as the Reason of it, is, that all those Families, that are called *Ducal*, have had the *Duke-*

in their House: But as all the *old Families* had the same Honour, though they carry that Title, so some of the *new Families* have had it, that yet are not called *Ducal*. Others say, that those Families that have had Nobles, who have been made *Dukes*, without their being first *Procurators of S. Mark*, or that have been chosen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*: But the true account of this is, that from the Year 1450. to the Year 1620. for a hundred and seventy Years, there was a combination made among those *new Families* to preserve the *Dukedom* still among them: For the *old Families* carrying it high, and excluding the *new Families* from the chief honours, nineteen of the *new Families* entered into mutual Engagements to exclude the ancient Nobility: It is true, they made the *Dukedom* sometimes fall on some of the *new Families* that were not of this Association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and that it appeared, that they bore the chief sway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very People, though the *Inquisitors* did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it, so that I never met with it in any of their Authors: But this failed in the Year 1620. when *Mennio* was chosen Duke, who was descended of one of the ancient Nobility, which was so great a mortification to the *Casa Ducale*, that one of them (*Veniero*) hanged himself,

himself, by the Rage to which that Disgrace drove him, yet his man came into the Room at time, before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time, one of the *Bembo's*, two of the *Contarini's*, and one of the *Contarini's*, and the present Prince, of the *Justiniani*, the first of that Family that hath had that honour, have been *Dukes*; who are all of the ancient Families: So that this Faction is now so intirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in *Venice* it self) that it was ever amongst them: and thus time, and other *Accidents* bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Industry could produce: For that which all the Endeavours of the *Inquisitors* could not compass, was brought about of it self. It is true, the Factions in *Venice*, though violent enough in the Persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived by them, as an Inheritance to their Posterity, as it was among the *Florentines*; who though they value themselves as a size of Men much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull race of People, yet shewed how little they understood with all their vivacity, to conduct their *State*; since by their domestick Heats they lost their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the wisdom still to preserve. This Faction of the *Casa Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall; for they lost more than they got by it; for the Ancient Families in revenge set themselves against them,

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and excluded them from all the other advantageous Employments of the State. For the others being only united in that single point relating to the *Dukedom*, the Ancient Families let them carry it; but in all other Competitions they set up always such Competitors against the Pretenders, that were of the *Ducal Families*, that were much more esteemed than these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the *Republick*. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in Conclusion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a Wonder to see, the Dignity of the *Duke* so much abridged; for he is only a Prisoner of State, tyed up to such Rules, so severely restrained and shut up as it were in an Apartment of the *Palace of S. Mark*, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest Families, in particular the *Cornaro's* decline it. All the Family, if ever so numerous, must retire out of the *Senate*, when a *Duke* is chosen out of it, only one that is next to him of kin sits still, but without a Vote: And the only Real Priviledge that the *Duke* hath, is, that he can of himself, without communicating with the *Savii*, propose matters, either to the *Council of Ten*, to the *Senate*, or to the *Great Council*; whereas all other propositions must be first offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a sort of *Tribunitian* Power to reject what they dislike; and though they cannot hinder the *Duke* to make a Proposition, yet they can mortifie him when he hath

hath made it ; they can hinder it to be voted and after it is voted, they can suspend the execution of it till it is examined over again : And a *Duke*, that is of an active Spirit, must resolve to endure many of these Afflictions ; and it is certain, that the *Savii* do sometimes affect to shew the Greatness of their Authority , and exercise a sort of Tyranny in the rejecting of Propositions, when they intend to humble those that make them : yet the greatest part of the best Families court this Honour of *Dukedom* extreamly. When *Sagredo* was upon the point of being chosen *Duke*, there was so violent an Out-cry against it over all *Venice* , because of the Disgrace, that they thought would come on the Republick, if they had a *Prince*, whose Nose had miscarried in some unfortunate Disorders ; the *Senate* complied so far with this Aversion, that the people testified, that tho the *Inquisitors* took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the design for *Sagredo* fall : Upon which he was so much disgusted, that he retired to a House he had in the *Terra firma* , and never appeared more at *Venice* ; During which time of his Retirement, he writ two Books, the one *Memorie Ottomantiche*, which is Printed ; and he is accounted the best of all their modern Authors. The other was *Memoires of the Government and History of Venice*, which hath never been Printed ; and some say, it is too sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their *Archives*.

It hath been a sort of Maxim now for some time, not to chuse a married Man to be *Duke*, for the Coronation of a *Dutchess* goes high, and hath cost above a hundred thousand *Ducats*. Some of the Ancient Families have affected the Title of *Prince*, and have called their branches, *Princes of the Blood*; and though the *Cornaro's* have done this more than any other, yet others upon the Account of some *Principalities*, that their Ancestors had in the *Islands* of the *Archipelago*, have also affected those vain Titles: But the *Inquisitors* have long ago obliged them, to lay aside all those high Titles; and such of them as boast too much of their blood, find the dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for whensoever they pretend to any great Employments, they find themselves always excluded. When an Election of *Ambassadors* was proposed, or of any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in those terms, that the *Council* must chuse one of its *Principal Members* for such an employment: But because this lookt like a term of Distinction among the *Nobility*, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and instead of *Principal*, they use now the term *Honourable*, which comprehends the whole body of their *Nobility*, without any distinction. It is at *Venice*, in the *Church*, as well as in the *State*, that the *Head* of the *Body* hath a great Title; and particular Honours done him; whereas in the mean while this is a meer Pageantry, and under these big words there is lodged only a light shadow

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dow of Authority; for their *Biskop* has the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the *Duke* is called their *Prince*, and his *Serenity*, and hath his name stamp't upon their *Coy'n*; so the *Patriarch* with all this high Title, hath really no Authority: For not only *Saint Mark's Church* is intirely exempted from his jurisdiction, and is immediately subject to the *Duke*, but his Authority is in all other things so subject to the *Senate*, and so regulated by them, that he hath no more power, than they are pleased to allow him: So that the *Senate* is as really the supream Governour over all persons, and in all causes, as the *Kings of England* have pretended to be in their own *Dominions* since the *Reformation*: but besides all this, the *Clergy of Venice* have a very extraordinary sort of Exemption, and are a sort of a body like a *Presbytery* independent of the *Bishop*: The *Curats* are chosen by the Inhabitants of every Parish, and this makes that no *Noble Venetian* is suffered to pretend to any *Curacy*; for they think it below that dignity, to suffer one of their body, to engage in a competition with one of a lower order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told, the manner of those Elections was the most scandalous thing possible; for the several Candidates appear on the day of Election, and set out their own Merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the fowlest Language, and in the most scurrilous manner imaginable; the secrets of all their Lives are publisht in most reproachful terms, and no thing

thing is so abject and ridiculous, that is not put in practice on those occasions: There is a sort of an Association among the *Curats* for judging of their common concerns, and some of the *Laity* of the several Parishes assist in those Courts, so that here is a real *Presbytery*. The great Libertinage, that is so undecently practised by most sorts of people at *Venice*, extends it self to the *Clergy* to such a degree, that though Ignorance and Vice, seem the only indelible Characters, that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet those appear here in a much more conspicuous manner than elsewhere; and upon these popular elections all comes out. The *Nuns* of *Venice* have been under much scandal for a great while; there are some *Nunnerys* that are as famous for their strictness and exactness to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take: chiefly those of *Saint Zachary* and *Saint Laurence*, where none but *Noble Venetians*, are admitted, and where it is not so much as pretended, that they have retired for Devotion; but it is owned to be done meerly, that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not veiled, their Neck and Breast is bare, and they receive much company: but that which I saw, was in a public Room, in which there were many *Grills* for several Parlors, so that the conversation is very confused; for there being a different company at every *Grill*, and the *Italians* speaking generally very loud, the noise of so many loud Talkers is very disagreeable.

greeable. The *Nuns* Talk much and very ungacefully, and allow themselves a Liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the *Patriarch* intended to bring in a Reform into those Houses, but the *Nuns* of *St. Laurence* with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble *Venetians* who had chosen that way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations, yet he came and would shut up their House, so that they went to set fire to it; upon which the *Senate* interpo'sed and ordered the *Patriarch* to desist. There is no *Christian State* in the World, that hath expressed a Jealousie of Church-mens getting into the publick *Councils*, so much as the *Venetians*, for as a Noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders, looses thereby his right of going to Vote in the great *Council*, so when any of them are promoted to be *Cardinals*, the whole Kindred and Family must (during their Lives) withdraw from the great *Council*, and are also incapable of all Employments: And by a Clause which they added when they received the *Inquisition*, which seemed of no great Consequence, they have made it to become a *Court* absolutely subject to them; for it being provided that the *Inquisitors* should do nothing but in the Presence of such as should be Deputed by the *Senate*, to be the Witnesses of their Proceedings, those Deputies

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either will not come but when they think fit, or will not stay longer than they are pleased with their proceedings; so that either their absence, or their withdrawing, dissolves the *Court*: for a Citation cannot be made, a Witness cannot be examined, nor the least point of Form carried on, if the Deputies of the *Senate* are not present: and thus it is, that though there is a *Court of Inquisition* at *Venice*, yet there is scarce any Person brought into trouble by it; and there are many of the *Protestant Religion* that live there without any trouble: and though there is a *Congregation* of them there, that hath their exercises of *Religion* very regularly, yet the *Senate* gives them no trouble. It is true, the *Hoftys* not being carried about in *Procession*, but secretly by the *Priest* to the Sick, makes that this uneasy discrimination of *Protestant* and *Papist*, doth not offer it self here, as in other places; for the straitness of the Streets, and the Channels through which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elsewhere; and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole *Territory*, though the like Reason doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians*, are generally ignorant of the matters of *Religion* to a scandal, and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them; so that all that vast pomp in their Ceremonies, and wealth in their Churches, is affected rather as a point of Magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Families,

milies, than that *Superstition* hath here such a power over the Spirits of the People, as it hath elsewhere: for the *Atheism* that is received by many here, is the dullest, and coursest thing that can be imagined. The young *Nobility* are so generally corrupted in their Morals, and so given up to a most supine Ignorance of all sort of knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagin to what a height this is grown; and for *Military Courage*, there is scarce so much as the Ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater part of them. It seem'd to me a strange thing, to see the *Broglio*, so full of graceful young *Senators* and *Nobles*, when there was so glorious a *War* on foot with the *Turks*; but instead of being heated in point of Honour to hazard their lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of Folly, for them to go and hazard it, when a little Money can hire Strangers, that do it on such easie terms; and thus their Arms are in the hands of strangers, while they stay at home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and dissolving their spirits among their *Courtisans*. And the Reputation of their Service is of late years so much sunk, that it is very strange to see so many come to a service so decryed, where there is so little care had of the *Souldiers*, and so little regard had to the *Officers*: the *Arrears* are so slowly pay'd, and the Rewards are so scanty distributed, that if they do not change their *Maxims*, they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted

quainted with Warlike matters, so their Nobility have no sort of Ambition that way, and strangers are extremely disgusted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of Affairs that they owe their safety, for the feebleness of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Mantua*, preserves them from the apprehension of an Invasion; and the Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects, save them from the fears of a Revolt, but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great Occasion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim that hath been taken up for some considerable time, that for the preservation of their Families, it is fit that only one of a Family should Marry, to which I will not add that it is generally believed that the Wife is in common to the whole Family: By this means the younger Brothers that have appointments for Life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not stirred up by any Ambition to signalize themselves or to make Families, and so they give way to all the Laziness of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Whereas the best Services done in other States, flows from the Necessities as well as the Aspirings of younger Brothers or their Families, whose Blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and necessities push them on, to acquire first a Reputation, and then a fortune: But all this is a

Mystery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that to lay those to sleep, they encourage them in all those things that may blunt and depress their minds, and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the Licentiousness of unlimited disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that tho *Venice*, is the place in the whole World where Pleasure is most studied, and where the Youth have both the greatest Wealth, and the most leisure to pursue it: yet it is the place that I ever saw where true and innocent Pleasure is the least understood, in which I will make a little Digression that perhaps will not be unpleasant. As for the Pleasures of Friendship, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them; for the horrible distrust, in which they all live, of one another, makes, that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but most of all in *Venice*: and though we have been told of several Stories of celebrated Friendships there, yet these are now very rare. As for their Wives they are bred to so much ignorance, and they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull Superstition on Holy-days in which they stay in the Churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little Liberty they have, of going abroad on those days, as Children do their hours of Play: they are not im-

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ployed in their Domestick Affairs, and generally they understand no sort of Work, so that I was told that they were the insipidest Creatures imaginable: they are perhaps as vicious as in other places, but it is among them down right Lewdness; for they are not drawn into it, by the intanglements of *Amour*, that inveigle and lead many persons much farther than they imagined or intended at first; but in them, the first step, without any preamble or preparative, is downright beastliness. And an *Italian* that knew the World well, said upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he said, *their jealousy made them restrain their Daughters, and their Wives so much, that they could have none of those Domestick Entertainments of Wit, Conversation and Friendship, that the French or English have at home*: It is true, those he said hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty; but the *Italians*, by their excessive Caution, made that they had none of the true Delights of a Married State; and notwithstanding all their uneasy jealousy, they were still in danger of a contraband *Nobility*; therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain satisfaction, than to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid Companion, instead of a lively Friend, though she might perhaps have some ill moments. As for their Houses, they have nothing convenient at *Venice*; for the *Architecture* is almost all the

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same,

same, one Stair-case, a Hall that runs along the Body of the House, and Chambers on both hands; but there are no Apartments, no Closets or Back-stairs; so that in Houses that are of an excessive Wealth, they have yet no sort of convenience; Their Bedsteads are of Iron, because of the Vermin that their moisture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay so many Quilts, that it is a huge step to get up to them; their great Chairs are all upright, without a slope in the back, hard in the bottom, and the wood of the Arms is not covered: they mix Water with their Wine in their Hogshheads, so that for above half the year, the Wine is either dead or sour: they do not leaven their bread, so that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, so that the Crum is as Dough, when the Crust is as hard as a Stone; in all *Italy* they boil Meat first before it is roasted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, so it is quite tasteless, and insipid: And as for their Land-carriage, all *Lombardy* over, it is extream inconvenient; for their Coaches are fastned to the Pearch, which makes them as uneasy as a Cart: It is true, they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*, Coaches that are fastned to a sort of double Pearch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both sides, which are so thin, that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream easy, but those are not known in *Lombardy*; and besides this, their *Caleches* are open, so that one is exposed to the

the Sun, and Dust in *Summer*, and to the Weather in *Winter*: But though they are covered as ours are, on the other side of the *Appenins*, yet I saw none that were covered in *Lombardy*: and thus by an enumeration of many of the innocent pleasures, and Conveniences of Life, it appears, that the *Venetians* pursue so violently Forbidden Pleasures, that they know not how to find out that which is allowable. Their constant Practises in the *Broglia* is their chief business, where those that are necessitous are suing for employments of advantage, and those that are full of Wealth, take a sort of Pleasure in crossing their Pretensions, and in imbroiling matters. The Walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them, and they change the side of the Square of *St. Mark* as the Sun, and the Weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that *Mr. Pattin* gave me of *Broglia* from the Greek *Peribolain*, a little corrupted is not forced, and since they make all their Parties, and manage all their Intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that Broils, Brovillons and Imbroilments are all deriv'd from the Agitations that are managed in those Walks.

As for the last created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen at the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vast expence in which
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the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Isle, rather than have wasted their Treasure, and debased their Nobility. This last was extream sensible to them; for as the Dignity of the rank they hold is so much the more eminent as it is restrained to a small number, so all the best employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of seventy eight Families, was in effect the sharing their inheritance among so many adopted Brothers. This had been less infamous if they had Communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of those States that they have subdued in the *Terra firma*; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Ancestors not having to be of that Council that assumed the Government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raised to that Honour, so there had been no infamy in creating some of them to be of the Nobility. It had been also brought under consultation long ago, upon the reduction of those States in the *Terra firma*, whether it was not advisable according to the maxims of the ancient *Romans* to communicate that dignity to some of their chief Families, as being the surest way to give some contentment to those States, it being also a real as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in those Cities, were admitted to a share in all the Honours of the Republick.

Republick. It is true some of the Nobility of those States thought they had Honour enough by their Birth, and so *Zambara* of *Brescia* refused to accept an Honour from those that had robbed his Country of its liberty, yet his posterity are now of another mind, for they came and bought in this last sale of honour that which was freely offered to their Ancestor, and was rejected by him. When the Senate found it self extreemly pressed for Money during the War, it was at first proposed, that some Families, to the number of five, might be *Enobled*; they offering sixty thousand *Ducats* if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were *Strangers*: There was but one Person that opposed this in the *Senate*, so it being passed there, was presented to the *Great Council*; and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one Person opposed it with so much vigor, that though the *Duke* desired him to give over his Opposition, since the Necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and though one of the *Savii* set forth with Tears the extremities to which the *State* was reduced, he still insisted, and fell upon one Conceit that turned the whole *Council*; he said, they were not sure if five Persons could be found, that would purchase that Honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast Disgrace, to expose the offer of *Nobility* first to sale; and then to the Affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold; and by this means he put

put by the Resolution for that time: But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and was of a more extended Consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the *Great Council*, setting forth his Merits towards the *Republick*, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand *Ducats* toward the service of the *State*: this was understood to be the asking to be made *Noble* at that price. *Delfino* said, he thought every man might be well judged worthy, to offer such an assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that supply, might expect a suitable acknowledgment from the *Senate*, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the Publick: and this would in some sort maintain that degree, which would be too much debased, if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the Purchasers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to the Gratitude of the Council, so the Petition was granted in plain terms: and the *Nobility* so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers, and the whole Family to such a degree. After *Labia*, a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleasant to see in what terms *Merchants*, that came to buy this Honour set forth their Merits, which were, that they had taken care to furnish the *Republick* with such things as were necessary for its preservation.

vation. There was a sort of a *Triumvirat* formed, of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the *Brokers*, and found out the *Merchants*: and at last brought down the price from a hundred thousand, to sixty thousand *Ducats*; and no other qualifications were required, if they had money enough: For when *Correge* said to the *Duke*, that he was afraid to ask that Honour for want of *Merit*, the *Duke* asked him, *if he had a hundred thousand Ducats?* and when the other answered, *the Sum was ready*; the *Duke* told him, *that was a great Merit*. At last seventy eight purchas'd this Honour to the great regret of *Labia*: who said that if he had imagined that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it, that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchasers were Ancient and Noble Families, but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the lowest sort of them: who as they had enriched themselves by Trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an Honour that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to Ballance that loss: for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the Ancient Nobility, tho this is done with that discretion, that the old Families do not declare always against the new, for that would throw the new into a Faction against them, which might be a great prejudice

prejudice to them, for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the Republic feels by this great Promotion, is, that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State and the Chancellor that is the head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief Honour of the State, there is not now a sufficient number of capable Citizens left for serving the State in those employments; but this defect will be redrest with the help of a little time. But if this encrease of the Nobility, hath lessened the Dignity of the ancient Families, there is a regulation made in this age that still preserves a considerable distinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes against the States, when committed by any of the Nobility, were alwaies judged by the Inquisitors, and the Council of Ten, but all other Crimes were judged by the Council of Forty. But in the Year 1624. one of the Nobles was accused of *Pecalat* Committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore* in the pleading as he set forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber: yet tho his Crimes were manifest, there being but six and twenty Judges present, twelve only Condemned him; and fourteen Acquitted him, this gave great offence, for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident,

evident, so that his fame could not be restored: for the depositions of the Witnesses, and the *Avogadores* (or the Attorney Generals) charge were heard by the People; so it was proposed to make a difference between the Nobility and the other Subjects; and since all Trials before the Forty were public, and the Trials before the Ten were in secret, it seemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the Ten: Some foresaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raise the dignity of the antient Families, of whom the Council of Ten is alwaies composed, too high: therefore they opposed it upon this ground, that since the Council of forty sent out many Orders to the Governors, it would very much lessen their Authority, if they were not to be the Judges of those, who were obliged to receive their Orders; but to qualify this Opposition, a Proviso was made, that reserved to the *Council of Forty* a Power to judge of the Obedience that was given to their Orders; but all other Accusations of the Nobility were remitted to the *Council of Ten*: and the Body of the Nobility were so pleased with this distinction, that was put between them and the other Subjects, that they did not see, that this did really inflave them so much the more and brought them under more danger; since those who judge in secret have a freer scope to their Passions, than those whose proceedings are Publick, which is often a very effectual restraint upon the Judges themselves. But the *Council of Ten* being generally
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in the hands of the great Families; whereas those of all sorts are of the *Council of Forty*, which was the chief *Judicatory* of the State, and much Ancienter than that of *Ten*: it had been much more wisely done of them to have been still Judged by the *Forty*: And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a difference made in the way of Judging the *Nobility*, and the other *Subjects*, it had been more for their Security, to have brought their *Tryals* to this, that whereas the *Forty* judge all other Offenders with *Open Doors*, the *Nobility* should be judged the *Doors being shut*, which is a thing they very much desire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it: For this power of Judging the *Nobility*, is now considered as the Right of the *Ten*; and if any man would go about to change it, the *Inquisitors* would be perhaps very quick with him as a Mover of Sedition, and be, in that case, both Judge and Party; Yet the *Inquisitors* being apprehensive of the distast, that this might breed in the Body of the *Nobility*, have made a sort of Regulation, though it doth not amount to much; which is, that the *Nobility* shall be judged before the *Council of Ten* for atrocious Cases, such as Matters of State, the Robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other matters, they are to be judged by the *Forty*: yet the *Council of Ten* draws all Cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this *Constitution*, which is so much censured by Strangers; but is really both the greatest Glory, and the chief Security of this *Republick*, which is, *the unlimited Power of the Inquisitors*, that extends not only to the Chief of the *Nobility*, but to the *Duke* himself, who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him severe Reprimands, but search his Papers, make his Process, and in conclusion, put him to death, without being bound to give an Account of their proceedings, except to the *Council of Ten*. This is the Dread not only of all the *Subjects*, but of the whole *Nobility*, and of all that bear Office in the *Republick*, and makes the greatest among them tremble, and so obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied that upon some occasions they may have been a little too sudden, particularly in the known story of *Fescecarin*, yet such unjustifiable severities have occurred so seldom, that as the wisdom of this body in making, and preserving such an institution, cannot be enough admired, so the dextrous conduct of those who manage this vast trust so as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewise highly to be wondered at. In short the insolence, the factions, the revenges, the necessities and ambition that must needs possess a great many members of so vast a body as is the *Nobility of Venice*, must have thrown them often in-

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to many fatal convulsions, if it were not for the dread in which they all stand of this Court which hath so many spies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondaliers*, who cannot fail to discover all the secret Commerce of *Venice*: besides the secret advices that are thrown in at so many of those Lyons mouths that are in several places of *St. Mark's Palace*, within which there are Boxes that are under the keys of the Inquisitors, so that it is scarce possible for a man to be long in any design against the State, and not to be discovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are so inexorable, and so quick as well as severe in the Justice, that the very fear of this is so effectual a restraint, that perhaps the long preservation of *Venice*, and of its liberty, is owing to this single piece of their Constitution: and the Inquisitors are persons generally so distinguished for their merit who must be all of different Families; and their Authority lasts so short a while that the advantages of this vast Authority that is lodged with them are constant and visible; whereas the unhappy instances of their being imposed on, and carrying their suspicions too far, are so few, that whenever the Nobility grows weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Prosperity of *Venice* at an end. It was terribly attackt not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Ferom Cornaro*

was put to death for his correspondence with Spain; he was not near akin to the great Family of that name, yet the Family thought their Honour was so much toucht when one of its remotest Branches was condemned of Treason, that they offered a hundred thousand Crowns to have saved him, and by consequence to have preserved the Family from that infamy; but though this was not accepted, for he suffered as he well deserved, yet it was so visible that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their prejudice. But upon the first occasion that offered it self after that, to quarrel with the proceedings of the Inquisitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority, but the Great Council was wiser then to touch so Sacred a Part of the Government, so they retain their Power very intire; but they manage it with all possible Caution. A Foreigner that hath been many years in their Service, told me, that the Stories with which *Strangers* were frighted at the Arbitrary Power that was rested in those *Inquisitors*, were slight things, in comparison of the advantages that they found from it; and after eleven years spent in their service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a Reprimand from them. And if the *Nobility*, that have any Commerce with *Strangers*, confess it sincerely to the *Inquisitors*, they are

are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main Circumstances of it, their Process will be soon dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up, during my stay at Venice. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several Councils, Officers and Judicatories, or to the other parts of their Government, which are to be found in all Books; and the Forms by which they give their Votes by Ballot are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time, to enlarge my self concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed, concerning the particulars of the Sale of Nobility that is now on foot, since this last War with the Turks, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising of Money: Nor could I give credit to that of which a person of great Eminence there assured me, that there was a *Poysoner General* in Venice, that had a Salary, and was imployed by the *Inquisitors* to dispatch those, against whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a noise; this I could not believe, tho my Author protested, that the Brother of one that was solicited to accept of the imployment discovered it to him. There is no place in the World where Strangers live with more freedom; and I was amazed to see so little Exactness among the Searchers of the Custom-house; for though we had a Mullers-load of Trunks, and Portmantles, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the best and Noblest Entertainment that Ve-

Venice afforded while I was there, was the Com-
 pany of *Mr. de la Haye*, the *French Ambassador*,
 who as he hath spent his whole life in publick Em-
 bassies, so he hath acquired so great a Knowledge
 of the World, with so true a Judgment, and so
 obliging a Civility, that he may well pass for a
 Pattern; and it is no wonder to see him still in-
 gaged in a constant succession of publick Employ-
 ments; and his *Lady* is so wonderful a Person,
 that I pay them both but a very small part of
 what I owe them, in this Acknowledgment, which
 I judge my self bound to make of their extraor-
 dinary Civilities to me; and indeed, without the
 Advantage of such a Rendezvous as I had there,
 a fort-nights stay at *Venice* had been a very tedious
 matter. From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*;
 From thence to *Rovigo*, which is but a small Town,
 and so to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of
 the *Republick*, from the *Ferrarese*, which is now
 the *Popes Country*; and here one sees what a diffe-
 rence a good and a bad Government makes in
 a Country; for tho the Soil is the same on
 both sides of the River, and the *Ferrarese* was once
 one of the beautifullest spots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara*
 was one of its best Towns, while they had
 Princes of their own who for a course of some
 Ages were Princes of such Eminent virtues, and
 of so Heroical a Nobleness that they were
 really the Fathers of their Country, nothing
 can be imagined more changed than all this is
 now. The Soil is abandoned, and uncultivated,

nor

nor were there hands enough so much as to mow their grass, which we saw withering in their Meadows to our no small wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a Soil forsaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we passed through that vast Town, which by its extent shews what it was about an Age ago, and is now so much deserted that there are whole sides of Streets without Inhabitants, and the Poverty of the place appears signally in the Churches, which are mean and poorly adorned, for the Superstition of *Italy* is so ravenous, and makes such a progress in this Age, that one may justly take the measures of the Wealth of any place from the Churches. The Superstition or Vanity of this Age is so much beyond that of the past tho the contrary to this is commonly believed that all the vast buildings of great Churches or rich Convents, and the surprizing Wealth that appears in them on Festival days are the Donatives of the present Age; so that it is a vulgar error, that some have taken up, who fancy that Superstition is at a stand, if not in a Decay, unless it be acknowledged that the craft of the Priests hath opened to them a new method to support their riches, when the old ones of Purgatory and Indulgences were become less effectual in an Age of more knowledge, and better enlightned, and that is to ingage men to an emulation and a vanity in enriching their Churches, as much as other

Italians

Italians have in the enriching their Palaces, so that as they have a pleasure as well as a vanity in seeing so much dead Wealth in their Houses, they have translated the same humour to their Churches: and the vanity of the present Age that believes little or nothing of those contrivances of Purgatory, or the like, produceth the same if not greater effects in the building and enriching their Churches and so carries it in expence and prodigality from the Superstition of the former Ages, that believed every thing. But to return to *Ferrara*. I could not but ask all I saw how it came that so rich a Soil was so strangely abandoned, some said the Air was become so unhealthy, that those who stay in it were very short-liv'd; but it is well known that fourscore years agoe it was well peopled; and the ill Air is occasioned by the want of Inhabitants, for there being not People to drain the ground and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes that there is a great deal of water that lies on the ground and rots, which infects the Air in the same manner as is observed in that vast and rich but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome*, so that the ill Air is the effect rather than the cause of the dispeopling of the Popes Dominions. The true cause is the Severity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiscations, by which the Nephews of several Popes, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, so they have driven away many

more. And this appears more visibly, by the different State as well as the Constitution of *Bologna*, which is full of people that abound in Wealth; and as the Soil is extream rich, so it is cultivated with all due care. For *Bologna* delivered it self to the *Papedom* upon a Capitulation, by which there are many Priviledges reserved to it: Crimes there are only punished in the persons of those who commit them; but there are no Confiscations of Estates; and though the Authority, in Criminal matters, belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a *Legate* and his Officers; yet the Civil Government, the Magistracy, and the power of Judicature in Civil matters, is intirely in the hands of the *State*: And by this Regulation it is; that as the riches of *Bologna* amazes a Stranger, it neither being on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the Center of a Sovereignty, where a Court is kept; so the Taxes that the *Popes* fetch from thence are so considerable, that he draws much more from this place of Liberty, than from those where his Authority is unlimited and absolute, but they are by those means almost quite abandoned: for the greatness of a Prince or State rising from the numbers of the Subjects, those Maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw Strangers to come among them, are certainly the truest Maxims for advancing the greatness of the Master. And I could not, but with much loom observe

observe the folly of some *French* Men, who made use of this Argument to shew the Greatness of their Nation, that one found many *French* Men in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no *English* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*; but this is just contrary to the right consequence that ought to be drawn from this Observation. It is certain, that few leave their Country, and go to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so much uneasiness at home, that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred; so that a *mild Government* drives out no swarms: whereas it is the sure mark of a *severe Government* that weakens it self, when many of the *Subjects* find it so hard to subsist at home, that they are forced to seek that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if Impositions and other Severities, did not force them to change their Habitations.

But to return to the Wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and all round it, though it's situation is not very favourable; for it lyes at the foot of the *Appennins*, on the North-side, and is extream Cold in Winter, The Houses are Built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, so that one walks all the Town over, covered under *Piazzos*; but the walks here are both higher and larger than any where else: there are many Noble Palaces all over the Town, and the Churches and Convents are incredibly rich: within

within the Town the richest are the Dominicans, which is the chief house of the Order, where their Founders Body is laid in one of the best Chapples of *Italy*: and next to them are the *Franciscans*, the *Servites*, the *Jesuites*, and the *Canons Regular* of *St. Salvator*. In this last there is a Scrawl of the *Hebrew* Bible, which though it is not the tenth Part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible: and they were made believe by some *Jew*, that hath no doubt sold it at a high rate, that it was written by *Ezra*'s own hand, and this hath past long for current, but the Manuscript is only a fine Copy like those that the *Jews* use in their Synagogues, that may be perhaps three or four hunderd years old: that Part of it on which I cast my Eye was the Book of *Esther* so by the bulk of the Scrawl, I judged it to be the Collection of those small Books of the Old Testament that the *Jews* set after the Law; but those of the House fancy they have a great treasure in it, and perhaps such *Jews* as have seen it are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and so suffer them to go on in their Error. The chief Church in the Town is *St. Petrones*, and there one sees the curious and exact Meridional-line, which that rare *Astronomer Cassini* laid along a great Part of the Pavement in a Brass Circle: it marks the true point of Mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the best performances that perhaps the World

World ever saw. In the great square before the Church, on the one side of which is the *Legates Palace*, among other Statues one surprized me much, it was *Pope Joans*, which is so named by the People of the Town; it is true, the learned Men say, it is the Statue of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a Youthly and womanish face. But as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little prospect that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. which is in *St. Mary Magiore* at Rome: For the Statue of that Pope, though it hath no beard, yet hath an age in it, that is very much different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this Statue; for I do not believe that Story at all; and I my self saw in *England* a Manuscript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this matter, which did not seem to be written long after the Authors time, in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the margin by another hand. On the Hill above *Bologna* stands the *Monastery* of *St. Michael* in *Bosco*, which hath a most charming situation and prospect, and is one of the best *Monasteries* in *Italy*; it hath many Courts, and one that is Cloistered, and is Octangular; which is so nobly painted in *Fresco*, that it is great pity to see such work exposed to the Air: All was retouched by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again much decayed: The *Dormitory* is very Magnificent;

the *Chappel* is little, but very fine; and the *Stalls* are richly carved. On the other side of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthusians* have also a very rich Monastery: Four miles from *Bologna* there is a *Madona* of Saint *Lukes*; and because many go thither in great Devotion, there is a *Portico* Building, which is already carried on almost half way; It is walled towards the North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high; it is carried on very vigorously; for in eight or ten years the half is built, so that in a little time, the whole will very probably be finished; and this may prove the beginning of many such like *Portico's* in *Italy*; for things of this kind want only a beginning, and when they are once set on foot, they do quickly spread themselves in a Country that is so intirely subdued by *Superstition*, and the Artifices of their *Priests*. In *Bologna* they reckon there are seventy thousand Persons. I saw not one of the chief *Glories* of this place; for the famous *Malphigius* was out of Town while I was there. I saw a *Play* there, but the *Poesy* was so bad, the *Farces* so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the Company express so great a Satisfaction in that which would have been his'd off the stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then we ingage into that range of Hills that carry the name of *Appenins*, though that is strictly given only to one that is the highest: All the way

way to Florence this track of Hills continues, though there are several bottoms, and some considerable little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and down-hill, and Florence it self, is just at the bottom of the last Hill. The high-ways all along these Hills are kept in so very good case, that in few of the best inhabited Countrys doth one find the High-ways so well maintained, as in those forsaken Mountains: but this is so great a Passage, that all that are concerned in it, find their account, in the expence they lay out upon it. On the last of these Hills, though in a little bottom, in the midst of a Hill, stands *Pratolino*, one of the great *Dukes Palaces*, where the retreat in Summer must be very agreeable; for the Air of those Mountains is extream thin and pure. The Gardens in Italy are made at a great cost; the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble; the Grounds are well laid out; and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no Gravel, to give them those firm and beautiful walks that we have in England, so the constant greeness of the Box doth so much please them, that they, preferring the sight to the smell, have their Gardens so high fenced by plots made with them, that there is no pleasure to walk in them; they also lay their walks so between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I saw first in a Garden at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in Italy, which was extream convenient, there went a course of Water round about the Walls, about

a foot from the ground is a Channel of stone, that went along the side of the Wall; and in this there were holes so made, that a Pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to such plants, as in dry Season, needed watering; and a Cock set the Water a running in this course, so that without the trouble of carrying Water, one Person could easily manage the watering of a great Garden. Florence is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches and Stately Convents. The streets are paved in imitation of the old Roman High-ways, with great Stone, bigger than our common pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed, in their joynings to one another, that Horses find fastning enough to their feet: There are many Statues and Fountains in the streets, so that in every corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a description of the great Dukes Palace and Gardens, or of the old Palace, and the Gallery that joyns to it, and of the vast Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curiosities that must needs amaze every one that sees them: the Plate, and in particular, the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things, that they would require a very copious description, if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little purpose to Copy what others have said: and these things are so exactly seen by every Traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular of these subjects, than you will find

find in the common *Itineraries* of all Travellers. The great *Dome* is a magnificent building, but the Frontispiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The *Cupulò*, is after *St. Peters*, the greatest and highest that I saw in *Italy*; it is three hundred foot high, and of a vast compass; and the whole *Architecture* of this Fabrick is very singular, as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, lessened it very much in my thoughts: for the Walls that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble, laid in different figures and orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that air of Nobleness which in my opinion becomes so glorious a Fabrick. The *Baptistery*, that stands before it, was a Noble *Heathen Temple*; its *Gates* of Brass, are the best of that sort that are in the World: There are so many *Historys* so well represented in *Bas Reliefs* in them, with so much Exactness, the Work is so natural, and yet so fine, that a curious Man could find entertainment for many days, if he would examine the three *Gates* of this Temple with a critical exactness. The *Annunciata*, *St. Marks*, *St. Croce*, and *S. Maria Novella*, are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches; but the Church and Chappel of *S. Laurence* exceeds them all, as much in the Riches within, as it is inferiour to them in the outside, which is quite flea'd, (if I may so speak) but on design to give it a rich out-side of Marble. In a Chappel within this Church, the Bodies of the great Dukes lye deposited, till the famous Chappel

is finished. But I was much scandalized to see *Statues with Nudities* here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in *Churches*. I will not offer at a description of the *Glorious Chappel*, which as it is without doubt, the richest piece of building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that though there are always many at work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of the hands that are employed in it. Among the *Statues* that are to be in it, there is one of the *Virgin's*, made by *Michael Angelo*, which represents her grief at the *Passion* of her *Blessed Son*, that hath the most life in it of all the *Statues* I ever saw. But the famous *Library*, that belongs to this *Convent*, took up more of my time than all the other *Curiosities* of *Florence*; for here is a collection of many *Manuscripts*, most of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by *Pope Clements the VII.* and given to his *Country*: there are very few *Printed Books* mixed with them; and those *Books* that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as *Manuscripts*. I saw some of *Virgils Poems* in old *Capitals*. There is a *Manuscript*, in which some parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one place, one in a different hand had writ, that he had compared those *Manuscripts*; and he adds a date to this in *Olibrius's* time, which is about twelve hundred *Years* ago. I found some diphthongs in it cast into one Letter, which surprized me; for I thought that way of writing them

them had not been so ancient: but that which pleased me most was, that the *Library-keeper* assured me, that one had lately found the famous *Epistle of St. Chrysostome to Cæsarius in Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the *Manuscripts* of that *Fathers Books*; of which they have a great many. He thought he remembred well the place where the Book stood; so we turned over all the Books that stood near it, but I found it not: he promised to look it out for me, if I came back that way: But I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi*, who is the *Great Dukes Library-keeper*, and is a Person of most wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is learned beyond imagination, assured me, that this could be no other than a mistake of the *Library-keepers*; he said, such a discovery could not have been made, without making so much noise, that he must have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in *Florence*, that either understood *Greek*, or that examined *Manuscripts*; so that he assured me, I could not build on what an ignorant *Library-keeper* had told me: So I set down this matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much sunk from what it was; for they do not reckon, that there are above fifty thousand Souls in it: and the other *States*, that were once great *Republicks*, such as *Siena* and *Pisa*, while they retained their Liber-

ty, are now shrunk almost into nothing : It is certain, that all three together, are now not so numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Legorn* is full of People, and all round *Florence* there are a great many *Villages*, but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a *Country*, that hath been a Scene of so much Action, and so many *Wars*, now so forsaken, and so poor, and that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it ; and in other places, where there are more People, they look so poor, and their Houses are such miserable Ruins, that it is scarce accountable, how there should be so much Poverty in so rich a *Country*, which is all over full of *Begars* : and here the stile of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy* ; for whereas there they begged for the sake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls that were in *Purgatory* ; and this was the stile in all the other parts of *Italy*, through which I passed. In short ; the dispeopling of *Tuscany*, and most of the *Principalties* of *Italy*, but chiefly of the *Popes Dominions*, which are more abandoned than any other part of *Italy*, seemed to flow from nothing but the Severity of the Government, and the great Decay of Trade : For the greatest Trade of *Italy* being in *Silk*, the vast Importation of *Silks* that the *East-India Companies* bring into *Europe*, hath quite ruined all those that deal in this Manufacture : Yet this is not the chief Cause of the

dispeopling

dispeopling of those rich *Countrys*; the Severity of the *Taxes* is the true Reason: notwithstanding all that Decay of Trade, the *Taxes* are still kept up. Beside this, the vast Wealth of the *Convents*, where the only People of *Italy* are to be found, that live not only at their Ease, but in great Plenty and Luxury, makes many forsake all sort of Industry, and seek for a retreat in one of those Seats of Pleasure; so that the People do not increase fast enough to make a new race to come instead of those, whom a hard *Government* drives away. It must needs surprize an unattentive Traveller, to see not only the *Venetian Territory*, which is indeed a rich Country, but the *Bailiages* of the *Switzers*, and the Coast of *Genoa* so full of People, when *Tuscany*, the *Patrimony*, and the *Kingdom of Naples*, have so few Inhabitants. In the Coast of *Genoa* there is for many Miles as it were a constant tract of *Towns* and *Villages*, and all those are well peopled, though they have scarce any Soil at all, lying under the *Mountains*, that are very barren, and that expose them to a most uneasy Sun; and that they lie upon a boisterous *Sea*, that is almost always in a Storm, and that affords very few fish: and yet the Gentleness of the *Government* draws such multitudes thither, and those are so full of Wealth, that *Money* goes at *two per cent.* But on the other hand, to ballance this a little, so strange and wild a thing is the nature of Man, at least of *Italians*, that I was told, that the worst People of all *Italy* are

are the *Genoeses*, and the most generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all sorts of Vice; so that though a *severe Government* and *Slavery* are contrary to the nature of Man, and to human Society, to *Justice* and *Equity*, and to that essential Equality, that Nature hath made among Men; yet on the other hand, all Men cannot bear that Ease and Liberty that become the Human Nature. The *superstition* of *Italy*, and the great waste of Wealth that one sees in their *Churches*, particularly those prodigious Masses of *Plate*, with which their *Altars* are covered on Holydays, doth also sink their *Trade* extreamly; for Silver, being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when so much of that is dead, and circulates no more, it is no wonder if such an extravasation (if I may use so long and so hard a word) of Silver, occasions a great Deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot one remark, that I made in the last Hill of the *Appennins*, just above *Florence*, that I never saw such tall and big *Cypresses* any where as grew over all that Hill, which seemed a little strange, that Tree being apt to be starved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are severe. All the ways in *Tuscany* are very rugged, except on the sides of the *Arne*. But the unevenness of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the High-ways, which are all in very good case: The *huns* are wretched, and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet. This is the plague of all *Italy*, when once one

bath

hath passed the *Appennins*; for, except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the Pleasure of Traveling is much abated by the Inconveniences that one meets in every Stage through which he passes. I am

S I R

Yours.

THE FOURTH LETTER.

From *Rome* the 8th of December, 1685.

I Am now in the last Stage of my *Voyage* over *Italy*; for since my last from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*; and have now satisfied my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to *Civita Vecchia*, and from thence by *Sea* to *Marselles*; and so avoid an unpleasant Winters Journey over the *Alps*; it is true I loose the sight of *Turin*, *Genua*, and some other Courts: but though I am told, these deserve well the pains of the Journey; yet when one rises from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his Appetite: So I confess freely, that the sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my Stomach that way, that the Curiosity of seeing new places, is now

very low with me ; and indeed, these that I have of late seen are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

All the way from *Florence* through the *Great Dukes Country*, looked so sad, that I concluded, it must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy* : but indeed, I changed my note when I came into the *Popes Territories*, at *Point Centsino*, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as stocked with Cattle : but as I passed from *M. Fiaccone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing, for a vast *Champain Country* lay almost quite deserted. And that wide *Town*, which is of so great a compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the People in the ordinary *Towns* in *Scotland*, and in its worst Places, make a better appearance. When I was within a days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of so great a *City* must mend the matter, but I was much disappointed for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly, that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattle upon it, to the tenth Part of what it could bear : The surprize that this gave me, increased upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other side, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita Vecchia* ; for that vast and rich *Champain Country*, that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* ; is above a hundred

a hundred Miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is abandoned to such a degree, that as far as ones Eye can carry one, there is often not so much as a house to be seen ; but on the Hills, that are on the North-side of this Valley : and by this dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholsom, that it is not safe to be a Night in it all the Summer long ; for the Water that lyes upon many places, not being drained, it rots ; and in the Summer this produces so many noisom Steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* itself ; and if it were not for the breezes that come from the *Mountains*, the Air would be intolerable : When one sees all this large, but wast Country, from the Hill of *Marino*, twelve miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word, it is the rigour of the *Government* that hath driven away the Inhabitants ; and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to such a pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it : for such as would come to drain and cultivate it, must run a great hazard, and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other Reward of their Industry, but an Uneasy Government. It is the greatest Solicifm in Government for the Prince to be *Elective*, and yet *Absolute* ; for an *Hereditary Prince* is induced to consider his Posterity, and to maintain his People, so that those that come after him may still support the rank which they hold in the World : But an *Elective Prince* hath nothing of

of that in his Eye, unless he hath a pitch of generosity, which is not ordinary among men, and least of all among *Italians*, who have a passion for their Families, which is not known in other places: and thus a *Pope*, who comes in late to this Dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn to those Councils, by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sunshine: And though anciently the *Cardinals* were a check upon the *Pope*, and a sort of a *Council*, without whom he could do nothing even in *Temporals*; yet they have now quite lost that; and they have no other share in Affairs, than that to which the *Pope* thinks fit to admit them; so that he is the most absolute *Prince* in *Europe*. It is true, as to *Spirituals*, they retain still a large share, so that in Censures and Definitions the *Pope* can do nothing regularly, without their concurrence; though it is certain, that they have not so good a Title to Pretend to that, as to a share in the *Temporal Principality*. For if the *Pope* derives any thing from *St. Peter*, all that is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks best, since the *Infallibility*, according to their pretentions, rests singly in him; yet because there was not so much to be got by acting Arbitrary in those matters, and a Summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the grounds on which it is built; therefore the *Popes* have let the *Cardinals* retain still
a share

a share in this *Supremacy* over the *Church*, though they have no claim to it, neither by any *Divine* nor *Ecclesiastical* Warrants: But as for the endowments of the *See of Rome*, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the *Chapter* of that *See*; there is so much to be got by this, that the *Popes* have ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus it is, that the *Government* of this *Principality* is very unsteady. Sometimes the *Pope's Family* are extremely glorious, and magnificent; at other times, they think of nothing but of establishing their House: Sometimes the *Pope* is a Man of sense himself; Sometimes he is quite sunk, and as the last *Pope* was, he becomes a Child again through old age: Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffness of Temper, with a great Slowness of Understanding, and an insatiable desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now *Reigns*. By this diversity, which appears eminently in every new *Pontificate*, that commonly avoids those Excesses that made the former *Reign* odious, the *Councils* of the *Popedom* are weak and disjoyned. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general concerns of that Body, it is more visible in the *Principality* it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this *Age* a succession of four ravenous *Reigns*; and though there was a short Interruption in the *Reign* of the *Rospigliosi*, that coming after the *Barberini*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Gighi's*, did not enrich it self; and yet it disordered the *Revenue*, b the vast

vast Magnificence in which he reigned, more
 in twenty nine *Months* time, than any other had
 done in so many *years*. The *Alstieri* did, in a
 most scandalous manner, raise themselves in a
 very short and despised *Reign*, and built one of
 the Noblest *Palaces* in *Rome*. He that Reigns now,
 doth not indeed raise his *Family* avowedly, but he
 doth not ease the People of their *Taxes*: and as
 there is no Magnificence in his *Court*, nor any pub-
 lic Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*; so the
 many vacant *Caps*, occasions many empty *Pal-
 ces*: and by this means, there is so little expence
 now made at *Rome*, that it is not possible for the
 People to live and pay the *Taxes*, which hath
 driven, as is believed almost a fourth part of the
 Inhabitants out of *Rome*; during this *Pontificate*.
 And as the preemption of the *Corn* makes, that
 there is no profit made by the Owners, out of
 the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly
 to the *Pope*, so there are no ways left here of im-
 ploying ones *Money* to any considerable Advantage;
 For the public *Banks*, which are all in the *Popes*
 hand, do not pay in effect *three per cent*, though
 they pretend to give *four per cent*. of interest: The
 settlement is indeed *four per cent*. and this was
 thought so great an advantage, that Actions on
 the *Popes Bank* were bought at a *hundred and six-
 teen the hundred*. But this *Pope* broke through all
 this, and declared, that he would give all their
 Money again, unless they would pay him *thirty per
 cent*. for the continuing of this Interest; and thus
 for

for a hundred *Crowns* Principal, one not only paid at first one hundred and sixteen: but afterwards thirty: in all one hundred six and forty for the hundred, which is almost the half lost: For whenever the *Pope* will pay them back their Money, all the rest is lost: And while I am here; there is a report, that the *Pope* is treating with the *Genoeses* for Money at *two per cent*; and if he gets it on those terms, then he will pay his Debts: and the Subjects, that have put in Money in this Bank, will by this means, lose six and forty *per cent*; which is almost the half of their Stock. A man of quality at *Rome*, and an eminent *Church-man*, who took me likewise for one of their *Clergy*, because I wore the *Habit* of a *Church-man*, said; that it was a horrible Scandal to the whole Christian World, and made one doubt of the Truth of the *Christian Religion*, to see more Oppression and Cruelty in their Territory, than was to be found even in *Turkey*; though it being in the Hands of *Chriss's Vicar*, one should expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle Government: and how (said he) can a Man expect to find his Religion here, where the common Maxims of Justice and Mercy were not so much as known. And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman Prince* made to me upon the folly of all those severe Oppressions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such a degeneracy of Spirit by their Necessities, that the *Spaniards*, whose Dominions look so big in the Map, are now brought

brought so low; and if they had kept still the possession they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would signify no more towards their preservation, than their other *Provinces* did; which, in their unskilful conduct, they have both dispenpled and exhausted: Whereas by their losing those *Seven Provinces*, those *States* have fallen upon such wise Notions of Government, and have drawn in much *Wealth*, and such numbers of *People* together, that *Spain* it self was now preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the loss it made of those *Provinces* in the last; and those *States*, that they had remained subject to *Spain*, would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably, by being *Allies*, than they could have done, if they had not shaken off their Yoke.

Indeed, if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such *Viceroy*s, and *Governours*, as it has now in *Naples*, their Affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The *Marquis of Carp*, in his youth intended to have taken so severe a Revenge of an Injury, that he thought the late *King of Spain* did him in an Amour, that he desired the blowing him up by Gun-powder, when he was in the *Council-Chamber*; but that Crime was discovered in time, and was not only forgiven him in consideration of the greatness of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for several years *Ambassador* at *Rome*: He is now *Viceroy* of *Naples*, and is the

only *Governour* of all the Places through which I passed, that is, without exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of People; for during the few years of his Ministry, he hath redressed such Abuses that seemed past cure, and that required an Age to correct them: He hath repressed the Insolence of the *Spaniards* so much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters: for he proceeds against the *Spaniards* with no less severity, when they give cause for it, than against the *Neapolitans*. He hath taken the Pay of the Souldiers so immediately into his own care, that they, who before his coming, were half naked, and robbed such as passed on the Streets of *Naples* in day light, are now exactly payed, well disciplined, and so decently clothed, that it is a pleasure to see them: He examines their Musters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false Lists: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactness: And whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loaves out of the several places of the Markers, and weighed them himself, and by some severe Punishments on those that sold the Bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a just Regulation: He hath also brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again; and it is believed, he hath Spies to watch in case the trade of Bribes is found to be still going on. He hath purified the Palace, which was before his time so much

much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a descent upon it. But the things, that raise his reputation most, are his Extirpating of the *Banditi* and the Regulation of the *Coin*, which he hath taken in hand.

It is well enough known, what a Plague the *Banditi* have been to the *Kingdom*; for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Soldiers, if they had set on them: These travelled about seeking for spoil all the Summer long, but in Winter they were harboured by some of the *Neapolitan Barons*, who gave them Quarters; and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known; at *Naples*, and there was a *Concil* that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who as they caught some few, and hanged them, so they fined such as gave them harbour; and it was believed that those Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand *Crowns* a Year; And thus the Disease went on: only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Distemper. But when the present *Viceroy* entered upon the Government, he resolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*, and he first let all the *Barons* understand, that if they harboured them any more, a little Fine would not save them, but that he would proceed against them with

the utmost severity; and by this means the *Ban-*
dits could find no Winter Quarters; So they be-
 took themselves to some fastnesses among the
 Hills, and resolved to make good the Passes, and
 to accommodate themselves the best they could
 amidst the Mountains. The *Viceroy* sent a great
 Body against them, but they defended them-
 selves for some time vigorously, and in one sally
 they killed five hundred Men: but at last, see-
 ing that they were like to be hard prest, and
 that the *Viceroy* intended to come against them in
 Person, they accepted of the terms that he of-
 fered them, which was a pardon for what was
 past, both as to life and Gallies, and six pence a
 day for their entertainment in Prison during life,
 or the *Viceroy's* pleasure; and so they rendred
 themselves. They are kept in a large Prison,
 and now and then, as he sees cause for it, he
 lends some few of them up and down to serve in
Garrisons. And thus, beyond all mens expectati-
 on, he finished this matter in a very few Months;
 and the *Kingdom of Naples*, that hath been so long
 a scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much
 changed, that in no place of *Europe* do the Sub-
 jects enjoy a more entire Security. As for the
Coin, it, as all the other *Spanish Money*, is so Sub-
 ject to Clipping, that the whole *Money of Naples*
 is now light, and far below the true value; so
 the *Viceroy* hath resolved to redress this: he con-
 siders, that the crying down of *Money*, that pass-
 eth upon the public Credit, is a robbing of those

in whose hands the Money happens to be, when such Proclamations are put out; and therefore he takes a method that is more general, in which every one will bear his share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid some Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and hath got a great many to bring in some Plate to be coyned: and when he hath thus prepared such a quantity, as may serve for the circulation that is necessary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give out new Money for it. Thus doth this *Viceroy* set such a pattern to the other *Ministers* of the Crown of *Spain*, that if many would follow it, the State of their affairs would be soon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richest part of all *Italy*; for the very Mountains, that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either *Wine* or *Oyl*, in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great Corn Country, but it is excessive hot, and in some years all is burnt up. The *Jesuits* are the *Proprietors* of near the half of *Apulia*; and they treat their Tenants with the same rigour that the *Barons* of this Kingdom do generally use towards their Farmers: for the *Commons* here are so miserably oppressed, that in many places they dye of hunger, even amidst the great plenty of their best years; for the Corn is exported to *Spain* but neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Neopolitans* understand Trade so well as to be their own Merchants or Carriers, so that the *English* do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The *Oyl* of

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this Kingdom is still a vast Trade, and the Manufacture of the Wool and Soap of England, consumes yearly some thousands of Tuns. The silk Trade is so low, that it only serves themselves, but the exportation is inconsiderable: the Sloth and Laziness of this People renders them incapable of making those Advantages of so rich a soil, that a more industrious sort of People would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole Men of the Town walking in the Market places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and though in some big Towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it, is so bad, that our Footmen in England would make a grievous Out-cry if they were no better lodged; nor is there any thing to be had in them: the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill Baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oyl is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*; he must resolve to indure a good deal of Misery in the four days journey that is between those two places. And this is what a Traveller, that sees the Riches of the soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not hands enough for their soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no wonder to see their soil produce so little; that in the midst of all that abundance, that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations of Europe. But besides this which I have named, the

vast and dead Wealth that is in the hands of the *Churchmen*, is another evident cause of their misery. One that knew the State of this *Kingdom* well, assured me, that if it were divided into *five parts*, upon a strict survey, it would be found, that the *Church-men* had *four parts* of the five: which he made out thus, they have in *Soil* above the half of the whole, which is two and a half; and in *Tytbes*, and *Gifts*, and *Legacies*, they have one and a half more: for no Man dieth without leaving a considerable Legacy to some *Church* or some *Convent*. The Wealth that one sees in the *City of Naples* alone, passeth imagination; there are four and twenty *Houses* of the *Order* of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciscans*, seven of the *Jesuites*; besides the *Convents*, of the *Olivetans*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*: and above all, for scituation and riches, the *Carthusians*, on the top of the Hill that lieth over the *Town*. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious: It is the greatest *Hospital* in the *World*; the *Revenue* is said to be four hundred thousand *Crowns* a *Year*: the number of the Sick is not so great as at *Milan*: Yet one convenience for their Sick I observed in their *Galleries*, which was considerable, that every Bed stood as in an *Alcove*, and had a Wall on both sides, separating it from the Beds on both hands, and as much void space of both sides of the Bed, that the Bed it self took up but half the *Room*. The young Children that they maintain

are so many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boast of; for they talk of many thousands that are not seen, but are at Nurse: a great part of the wealth of *this House* goeth to the enriching their *Church*, which will be all over within crusted with inlayings of lovely Marble, in great variety and beauty of colours. The *Plate* that is in the *Treasury* here and in the *Dome*, (which is but a mean building, because it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vast Treasure) and in a great many other *Churches*, are so prodigious, that upon the modestest estimate, the *Plate* of the *Churches* of *Naples* amounts to eight millions of *Crowns*. The new *Church* of the *Jesuites*, that of *S. John the Apostle*, and that of *S. Paul*, are surprizingly rich; the gilding and painting that is on the *Roofs* of those *Churches* have cost millions: And as there are about a hundred *Convents* in *Naples*, so every one of these, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth seeing, though the riches of the greater *Convents* here, make many of them to be less visited. Every year there is a new *Governour* of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand *Crowns*; and to make some Compensation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vast piece of *Plate* to the House, a *Statue* for a Saint in *Silver*, or some *Coloss* of a *Candlestick*; for several of those pieces of plate are said to be worth ten thousand *Crowns*; and thus all the *Silver* of *Naples* becomes dead and

useless: The Jesuites are great Merchants here; their *Wine-Cellar* is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand *Hogsheads*, and the best *Wine* of *Naples* is sold by them; yet they do not retail it out so scandalously as the *Minims* do, who live on the great square before the *Viceroy's Palace*, and sell out their *Wine* by retail: they pay no Duty, and have extraordinary good *Wine*, and are in the best Place of the *Town* for this retail. It is true, the *Neopolitans* are no great Drinkers, so the Profits of this Tavern are not so great as they would be in colder Countries; for here Men go only in for a draught in the Mornings, or when they are a thirst. Yet the *House* groweth extream rich, and hath one of the finest *Chappels* that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbecoming Men of that Profession, and of so strict an *Order*. The *Convents* have a very particular priviledge in this *Town*; for they may buy all the Houses that lye on either side, till the first street that discontinueth the Houses; and there being scarce a street in *Naples* in which there is not a *Convent*, by this means they may come to buy in the whole *Town*: And the progress that the Wealth of the *Clergy* makes in this *Kingdom* is so visible, that if there is not some stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole *Kingdom*: It is an amazing thing to see so profound an ignorance, as reigns among the *Clergy*, prevail so effectually; for though all the Secular Persons here, speak of them with all possible

possible scorn, yet they are the Masters of the Spirits of the People. The Women are infinitely Superstitious, and give their husbands no rest; but as they draw from them great presents to the Church. It is true, there are Societies of Men at Naples of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of Italy: the Greek Learning begins to flourish there, and the new Philosophy is much studied; and there is an Assembly that is held in D. Joseph Vallesa's Library (where there is a vast Collection of well chosen Books) composed of Men that have a right taste of true Learning and good Sense: They are ill looked on by the Clergy, and represented as a set of Atheists, and as the Spawn of Pomponatius's School: But I found no such thing among them; for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable number of them, during the short stay that I made among them: There is a learned Lawyer, *Francisco Andria*, that is considered as one of the most inquisitive Men of the Assembly: There is also a Grandchild of the Great Alciat, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come into this attempt for the reviving of Learning among them: On the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all things. Only one Eminent Preacher, *Rinaldi*, that is Archdeacon of *Capua*, associates himself with them: he was once of the Jesuits Order, but left it; and as that alone served to give a good Character of him to me, so upon a long conversation with him, I found a great

many other things that possessed me with a high value for him. Some Physicians in Naples are brought under the Scandal of *Atheism*; and it is certain, that in *Italy*, Men of searching understandings, who have no other Idea of the *Christian Religion*, but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for they believing it all alike in gross, without distinction, and finding such notorious Cheats as appear in many parts of their Religion, are upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preaching of the Monks in Naples are terrible things. I saw a Jesuit go in a sort of a Procession, with a great company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a place where a Mountebank was selling his Medicines, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the People with a sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over; fearing lest his action should grow tedious, and disperse the Company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor Men of any reputation for learning among the Jesuits: I was told, they had not Men capable to teach their Schools; and that they were forced to hire Strangers. The Order of the Oratory hath not that reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*; and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in Naples, is among some few Secular Priests.

The new Method of *Molino's* doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed, he hath above twenty thousand Followers in this City: And since this hath made some noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a *Spanish Priest*, that seems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very ill Reasoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled, *il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the *Mystical Divinity*; the Substance of the whole, is reduced to this, *That in our Prayers, and other Devotions, the best Methods are to retire the mind from all gross Images, and so to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to present our selves before God: and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new Acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his Conduct:* This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new Acts, and different forms of Devotion; and he makes small Account of corporal Austerities, and reduces all the Exercises of Religion to this simplicity of Mind: He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in *Religious Houses*, but even to *Secular* persons, and by this he hath proposed a great Reformation of Mens Minds and Manners; He hath many *Priests* in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that dispose those who confess themselves to them, to follow his Method: The *Jesuites* have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing, that it may much weaken

the *Empire* that *Superstition* hath over the Minds of People, that it may make *Religion* become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to *Enthusiasms*: they also pretend, that his conduct is *Factionous* and *Seditious*; that this may breed a *Schism* in the *Church*. And because he saith, in some places of his Book, *That the Mind may rise up to such a Simplicity in its Acts, that it may rise in some of its Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ*, they have accused him, as intending to to lay aside the Doctrine of *Christ's Humanity*; though it is plain, that he speaks only, of the purity of some single Acts: Upon all those heads, they have set themselves much against *Molinos*; and they have also pretended, that some of his Disciples have infused into their Penitents, *That they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession*; which they thought weakened much the yoke, by which the *Priests* subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the *Kingdom of Naples* and in *Sicily*; he had also many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the *Jesuites*, as a *Provincial* of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King, that is now extreamly in the *Interests* of their Order, to interpose, and to represent to the *Pope* the danger of such Innovations. It is certain, the *Pope* understands the matter very little,

and

and that he is possessed with a great opinion of *Molino's* Sanctity; yet upon the Complaints of some *Cardinals*, that seconded the Zeal of that *King*, he and some of his Followers were clapt in the *Inquisition*, where they have been now for some Months, but they are still well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the *Pope* hath of him, who saith still, that though he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good man: Upon this Imprisonment, *Pasquin* said a pleasant thing, in one week, one man had been Condemned to the Gallies for somewhat he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and *Molinos* was clapt in Prison, whole Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, that men ought to bring their minds to a state of inward quietness, from which the name of *Quietists* was given to all his followers: The *Pasquinade* upon all this, was, *Si parliamo, in Galere, si scrivemmo Impiccati, si stiamo in quiete all' Sani' Officio, e che bisogna fare: If we speak, we are sent to the Gallies; if we write, we are hanged; if we stand quiet, we are clapt up in the Inquisition: what must we do then?* Yet his Followers at *Naples* are not daunted, but they believe, he will come out of this Tryal victorious.

The City of *Naples*, as it is the best scituated, and in the best Climate, so it is one of the Noblest Cities of *Europe*; and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them: The Streets are large

large and broad, the Pavement is great and Noble, the Stones being generally above a foot square, and it is full of Palaces, and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by daily Markets, so that Provisions are ever fresh, and in great plenty; the Wine is the best of *Europe*; and both the Fish and Flesh is extream good: it is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes; both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The *Viceroy's Palace* is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-case is great: But it is now very richly furnished within, in *Pictures* and *Statues*: There are in it some *Statues* of the *Egyptian Deities* of *Touchstone*, that are of great value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an Ancient *Roman Portico*, that is very Noble, before *Saint Pauls Church*. But without the City near the *Church* and *Hospital* of *Saint Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the Noble *Catacombs*: which because they were beyond any thing I saw in *Italy*, and to which the *Catacombs* of *Rome* are not to be compared, and since I do not find any account of them in all the Books that I have yet seen concerning *Naples*, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long *Galleries* cut out of the *Rock*: there are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the *Rock* is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it, but I saw the passage to it: These *Galleries* are generally about twenty foot broad, and

and about fifteen foot high: so that they are Noble and spacious Places, and not little and narrow as the *Catacombs* at *Rome*, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. I was made believe, that these *Catacombs* of *Naples* went into the *Rock* nine mile long; but for that I have it only by report: Yet if that be true, they may perhaps run toward *Pozzolo*, and so they may have been the burial places of the *Towns* on that *Bay*; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found *Galleries* going off on all hands without end, and whereas in the *Roman Catacombs* there are not above three or four rows of *Niches*, that are cut out in the *Rock* one over another, into which the *dead Bodies* were laid; here there are generally six or seven rows of those *Niches*, and they are both larger and higher; some *Niches* are for *Childrens* Bodies; and in many places there are in the *Floors*, as it were great Chests, hewn out of the *Rock*, to lay the bones of the dead as they are dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these holes, that looked like the bellies of Chests, or of a facing to shut up the *Niches* when a dead Body was laid in them; so that it seems they were monstrous unwholesome and stinking places, where some thousands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious a smell; For the *Niches* shew plainly, that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the
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dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In some places of the Rock there is as it were a little *Chappel* hewen out in the *Rock*, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are *Niches* all round about; but I saw no marks of any Wall, that shut in such places; though I am apt to think, these might be burying places appropriated to particular Families. There is in some places on the Walls and Arch, Old *Mosaic Work*, and some Painting, the Colours are fresh, and the Manner and Characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the *Normans*, about six hundred years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*: In some Places there are Palm-trees painted, and Vines in other places. The freshness of the Colours shews these could not have been done while this place was employed for burying; for the Steams and Rottenness of the Air, occasioned by so much Corruption, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours. In one place, there is a *Man* painted with a little Beard, and *Pautus* is written by his Head: there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his Head *Laud* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over against it. In another place I found a Cross painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters J.C. X. O. and in the lower part N J K A. are painted: A learned *Antiquary*, that went with me, agreed with me, that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above six hundred years

years old: but neither of us knew what to make of these Letters: the lower seemed to relate to the last word of the *Vision*, which it is said that *Constantine* saw with the *Cross* that appeared to him: But though the first two Letters might be for *Jesus*, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inscriptions to put a C. for an S. and X. stands for *Christ*, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little Line in the bottom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inscription is, *Jesus Christ God overcometh*. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta. Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous Age: In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it, that at top, had no Inscription; those below it, had these Inscriptions, *St. Catharina*, *St. Agape*, and *St. Margarita*, these Letters are clearly modern; besides that, *Margaret* and *Katharine* are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the S. were manifest evidences, that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting, is six hundred years. I saw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkness, and the thick Air of the place, so I stayed not above an hour in the *Catacombs*. This made me reflect more particularly on the *Catacombs of Rome*, than I had done; I could imagine no reason why so little mention is made of those of *Naples*, when there is so much said concerning those of *Rome*;
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and could give my self no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxime to keep up the reputation of the *Roman Catacombs*, as the *Repositories* of the *Reliques* of the primitive *Christians*, it would have much lessened their credit, if it had been thought, that there were *Catacombs* far beyond them in all respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the primitive *Christians*; and indeed, nothing seems more evident, than that these were the *common Burying Places* of the ancient *Heathens*. One enters into them without the Walls of the Town, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and such are the *Catacombs of Rome*, that I saw, which were those of *St. Agnes* and *St. Sebastian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this answers the Law, though in effect they run under it; for in those days, when they had not the use of the *Needle*, they could not know which way they carried on those works, when they were once so far engaged under ground, as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think, that the *Christians*, in the primitive times, were able to carry on such a work; for as this prodigious digging into such *Rocks* must have been a very vilible thing by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast number of Hands that must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think, that they could hold their *Assemblies* amidst the annoyance of so much corruption. I found the *Steams* so strong,

that

that though I am as little subject to Vapors as most men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a Confusion, and as it were a boiling in my Head, that disordered me extreamly; and if there is now so much *stagnating Air* there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of bodies rotting in those *Niches*. But besides this improbability, that presents it self from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a *Letter of Cornelius*, that was *Bishop of Rome*, after the middle of the *third Century*, which is preserved by *Eusebius* in his *sixth Book*, *Chapter 43*, in which we have the State of the *Church of Rome* at that time set forth. There were forty six *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, as many *Subdeacons*, and ninety four of the *Inferior Orders* of the *Clergy* among them: there were also fifteen hundred *Widows*, and other poor maintained out of the public *Charities*. It may be reasonably supposed, that the numbers of the *Christians* were as great when this *Epistle* was writ, as they were at any time before *Constantine's* days; for as this was writ at the end of that long *Peace*, of which both *St. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* speak, that had continued above a hundred years; so after this time, there was such a succession of *Persecutions*, that came so thick one upon another, after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the *Christians* increased much beyond what they were at this time.

time. Now there are two particulars in this State of the *Clergy*, upon which one may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the *Christians*: the one is, their *Poor*, which were but *fifteen hundred*: now upon an exact survey, it will be found that where the poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the *thirtieth* or *fortieth* part of mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the *Poor* among the *Christians* of that Age: For as their Charity was vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Prophery*, and others, object this to the *Christians* of that time, that their Charities to the *Poor* drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves *Christians*, that they might be supplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the *Christians* then, we may reckon the *Poor* the thirtieth Part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty, produce five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think, that this rises up near to the full sum of their numbers, by the other Character of the numbers of the *Clergy*; for as there were forty six *Presbyters*, so there were ninety four of the inferiour Order, who were two more than double the number of the *Priests*: and this was in a time in which the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the *Clergy* having then really more work on their hands, the instructing of their *Catechumens*, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and com-
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sorting the Weak, being Tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a *City* as *Rome* was in those days, in which it is probable the *Christians* were scattered over the *City*, and mixed in all the Parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon, that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thousand *Souls* committed to his Care, so this rises to six and forty thousand: which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their *Poor*. So that about *fifty thousand* is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the numbers of the *Christians of Rome* in that time: And of so many persons, the Old, the Young, and the Women, make more than three fourth Parts; so that men that were in condition to work, were not above *twelve thousand*: and by consequence, they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a Work. If *Cornelius* in that *Letter* speaks of the numbers of the *Christians* in excessive terms, and if *Tertulian* in his *Apology* hath also set out the numbers of the *Christians* of his time, in a very high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pompous Eloquence, which disposeth people to magnifie their own Party, and we must allow a good deal to a Hyperbole, that is very natural to all that set forth their Forces in general terms. It is true, it is not so clear when those vast *Cavities* were dug out of the *Rocks*. We know, that when the *Laws* of the twelve *Tables* were made, *Sepulture*

was

was then in use: and *Rome* being then grown to a vast bigness, no doubt they had *Repositories* for their *Dead*: so that since none of the *Roman Authors* mention any such work, it may not be unreasonable to Imagine, that these *Vaults* had been wrought and cut from the first beginning of the *City*, and so the later *Authors* had no occasion to take notice of it. It is also certain, that though *Burning* came to be in use among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their first Custom of *Burying* Bodies long before *Constantines* time; so that it was not the *Christian Religion* that produced this change. All our modern *Writers* take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the *Antonins*: yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of *Writers*, of any Orders that were given for *Burying*-places, *Velferus's* opinion seems more probable, that the Custom of *Burning* wore out by degrees; and since we are sure, that they once *buried*, it is more natural to think, that the *Slaves* and the meaner sort of *People* were still *Buried*, that being a less expenceful, and a more simple way of bestowing their *Bodies*, than *Burning*, which was both pompous and chargeable; and, if there were already *Burying* places prepared, it is much easier to imagin how the Custom of *Burying* grew Universal without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for some time find out upon what grounds the *Modern Criticks* take it for granted,

that

that Burying began in the times of the *Antonins*, till I had the happiness to talk of this matter with the learned *Gronovius*, who seems to be such a Master of all the Antient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: he told me, that it was certain, the change from *Burning* to *Burying*, was not made by the *Christian Emperours*; for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. chap. 7.) says, in plain terms, that the Custom of *Burning* the Bodies of the Dead, was quite worn out in that age: which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid aside so late as by *Constantine*; and as there was no Law made by him on that head, so he and the succeeding *Emperours*, gave such an entire toleration to *Paganism*, admitting those of that Religion to the greatest Employments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any order given against *Burning*; so that it is clear, the *Heathens* had changed it of their own accord: otherways we should have found that among the Complaints that they made of the Grievances under which they lay from the *Christians*. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made. *Gronovius* shewed me a passage of *Pliny*, that mentions the Bodies that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that; for it may have relation to the customs of *Burying* that might be else where. And so *Petronius* gives the account of the Burial of the *Ephebian Matrons* husband: but he made it apparent to me, that *Burying* was commonly practised in *Commodus's* time

time; for *Xiphilius* tells us, that in *Pertinax's* time the Friends of those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, had dug up their Bodies, some bringing out only some parts of them, and others raising their entire Bodies. The same Author also tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* body, and so saved it from the Rage of the People, and here is a positive Evidence, that *Burying* was the common practise of that time. The same learned Person has since my first conversation with him upon this subject, suggested to me two passages of *Festus Pompeius*, that seem to determine this whole matter; and that tell us, by what names those *Catacombs* were known in the *Roman* time, whereabouts they were, and what sort of Persons were laid in them; we have also the designation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the Dead Bodies: and it appears particularly by them, that in the *Repositories*, of which that author makes mention, there was no care taken to preserve the Bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulus antiquissimum genus sepulture appellatur, quod ibi in puteis sepelirentur homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam: qua quod ibi putrescerent, inde prius appellatos existima puticulos Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putrescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.* The

her passage runs thus. *Vespe & Vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à nominis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore efferrunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam sequuntur.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts, that a general view of those Repositories give a Man, that it will not be hard to persuade him, that those *Burying places*, that are now graced with the pompous title of *Catacombs*, are no other than the *Puteoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the *Roman* were laid, and so without any further care about them were left to rot.

It is true, it is very probable, that as we see some of the *Roman Families* continued to *Bury* their Dead, even when *Burning* was the more common Custom; so perhaps others continued after this to burn their dead, the thing being Indifferent, and no Law being made about it; and therefore it was particularly objected to the *Christians* after this time, that they abhorred the Custom of *Burning* the Bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix*; but this or any other evidences, that may be brought from *Monuments* of Consecrations after this time, will only prove, that some were still Burnt, and that the *Christians* practised *Burying* Universally, as expressing their belief of the Resurrection; whereas the *Heathens* held the thing Indifferent. It is also clear, from the many genuine *Inscriptions* that have been found in the *Catacombs*, which bear the

the dates of the *Consuls*, that these were the common *Burial-Places* of all the *Christians* of the fourth and fifth Century; for I do not remember, that there is any one date that is Antienter; and yet not one of the *Writers* of those *Ages* speak of them, as the Work of the *Primitive Christians*. They speak indeed of the *Burial-Places* of the *Martyrs*; but that will prove no more, but that the *Christians* might have had their *Quarters*, and their *Walks* in those common *Burial-Places*, where they laid their *Dead*, and which might have been known among them, though it is not likely, that they would in times of *Persecution* make such *Inscriptions* as might have exposed the *Bodies* of their dead *Friends* to the *Rage* of their *Enemies*. And the *Spurious Acts* of some *Saints* and *Martyrs*, are of too little credit to give any support to the common *Opinion*. *Damascus's Poetry* is of no better *Authority*. And though those *Ages* were inclined enough to give credit to *Fables*, yet it seems this of those *Catacombs*, having been the work of the *Primitive Christians*, was too gross a thing to have been so early imposed on the *World*. And this silence in an *Age*, in which *Superstition* was going on at so vast a Work, as those *Catacombs* are, must have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were easy to carry this much further, and to shew, that the *Bas Reliefs*, that have been found in some of those *Catacombs*, have nothing of Beauty of the *Ancient Roman time*. This is also more discernable in many

Inscriptions

Inscriptions that are more *Gothick* than *Roman*; and there are so many *Inscriptions* relating to Fables, that it is plain, these were of latter times; and we see by *Saint Jerom*, that the *Monks* began, even in his time, to drive a trade of *Reliques*; so it is no wonder, that to raise the credit of such a heap, as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable *Sculptures*, and some *Inscriptions*; and perhaps shut up the entrys into them with much care and secrecy, intending to open them upon some Dream or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation, which was often practised in order to the drawing much Wealth and great Devotion, even to some single *Relique*; and a few being upon this Secret, either those might have dyed, or by the many Revolutions that hapned in *Rome*, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery: And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last Age, and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible Magazin of *Bones*, which by all appearance are no other than the *Bones* of the *Pagan Romans*; which are now sent over the World to feed a Superstition, that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the *Bones* of the *Roman Slaves*, or at least, those of the meaner sort, are now set in *Silver* and *Gold*, with a great deal of other costly Garniture, and entertain the *Superstition* of those who are willing to be deceived, as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to de-

ceive the World. But because it cannot be pretended, that there was such a number of *Christians* at *Naples*, as could have wrought such *Catacombs*, and if it had been once thought, that those were the common *Burial-places* of the ancient *Heathens*, that might have induced the World to think, that the *Roman Catacombs* were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examine these. I thought this deserved a large discourse, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this subject.

I will not enter upon a long description of that which is so well known, as *Mont Vesuvio*, it had roared so loud about a month before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly sleep in the Nights, and some old Houses were so shaken by the *Earthquake*, that was occasioned by this convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the great Convulsion above fifty years ago, was so terrible, that there was no small fear in *Naples*, though it lyes at the distance of seven Miles from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under ground; for though it smoakt much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed *smoaking* not only in the mouth of the little Mount, that is formed within the great wast that the fire hath made, but also all along the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this Mountain (which is four miles in compass) and that inward Hill. When one sees the Mouth of this fire, and so great

great a part of the Hill which is covered some foot deep with ashes and stones of a metallick Composition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fuel of so lasting a Burning, that hath calcined so much matter, and spewed out such prodigious quantities. It is plain, there are vast *Veins* of *Sulphur* all along in this Soil, and it seems in this *Mountain* they run along through some *Mines* and *Rocks*; and as their slow consumption produceth a perpetual smoak, so when the Air within is so much rarified that it must open it self, it throws up those masses of *Mettle* and *Rock* that shut it in; but how this *Fire* draws in *Air* to nourish its Flame, is not so easily apprehended, unless there is either a conveyance of Air under ground, by some undiscovered vacuity, or a more insensible transmission of *Air*, through the pores of the *Earth*. The heat of this Hill operates so much upon the Soil, that lies upon it towards the foot of it, that it produceth the richest Wine about *Naples*, and it also purifieth the Air so much, that the *Village* at the bottom is thought the best *Air* of the *Country*, so that many come from *Naples* thither for their health. *Ischia*, that is an *Island* not far from *Naples*, doth also sometimes spew out fire.

On the other side of *Naples* to the West, one passeth through the *Cave* that pierceth the *Pausilippe*, and is four hundred and forty paces long; for I walked it on foot to take its true measure;

it is twenty foot broad, and at first forty foot high, but afterwards it is but twenty foot high; the *Stone* cut out here is good for building; so that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it was also a *Quarry* for the building of this *Town*. All along the way here, one discovers a strange boyling within the ground; for a little beyond the *Grot* of *Pausalispe*, as we come near the *Lake* of *Aniano*, there is of the one Hand, a *Bath*, occasioned by a *Steam* that riseth so hot out of the ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himself all over in a sweat, which is very proper for some *Diseases*, especially that which carries its name from *Naples*: And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little *Grot*, that sends out a *Poysonous Steam*, that as it puts out a *Candle*, as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living *Creature* within a minute of time; for in half that time a *Dog*, upon which the Experiment is commonly try'd (the *Grot* being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*) fell into a *Convulsion*. From that one goeth to see the poor *Rests* of *Puzzoli*, and of all that *Bay*, that was once all about, a tract of *Towns*, it having been the retreat of the *Romans*, during the heats of the *Summer*. All the *Rarities* here, have been so often, and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add nothing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the *Amphitheater*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgils* Houses, for which there is nothing but a dubious tradition; they are *Ancient Brick Buildings*

Buildings of the *Roman* way, and the Vaults of *Virgil's House* are still intire: The *Sulfatara* is a surprizing thing; here is a bottom, out of which the force of the Fire, that breaks out still in many places, in a thick steaming smoke, that is full of *Brimstone*, did throw up about a hundred and fifty years ago, a vast quantity of Earth, which was carried above three miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruins of a Town, that was overwhelmed with this Eruption, which is of a very considerable height; they told me, that there was before that time a *Channel*, that went, from the Bay into the *Lake of Averno*, of which one sees the beginnings in the Bay at some distance from the shore, it carrieth still the name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Caesar*. But by the swelling of the ground upon the Eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this passage is stopt, and the *Averno* is now fresh Water; it is eighteen fathom deep. On the side of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sybil* is said to have given out her *Inspirations*: the hewing it out of the *Rock*, hath been a prodigious Work; for the *Rock* is one of the hardest Stones in the World, and the *Cave* goeth in seven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and as I could guess, eighteen foot high: and from the end of this great *Gallery*, there is a narrow passage of three foot broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high, to a little apartment, to which we go in a constant sloping descent

from the great *Cave*; here are three little *Rooms*, in one of them there are some *Rests* of an Old *Mosaick*, with which the *Walls* and *Roof* were laid over; there is also a *Spring* of *Water*, and a *Bath*, in which it is supposed the *Sybil* bathed her self; and from this *Cave* it is said, that there runs a *Cave* all along to *Cuma*, which is three long miles, but the passage is now choakt by the falling in of the *Rock* in several places: This piece of *Work* amazed me. I did not much mind the popular opinion that is easily received there, that all this was done by the *Devil*; the marks of the Chizzel in all the parts of the *Rock* sheweth, that this is not a work of Nature. Certainly they had both much leisure, and many hands at their command who set about it; and it seems to have been wrought out with no other design; but to subdue the People more intirely to the conduct of the *Priests* that managed this *Imposture*; so busie and industrious hath the Ambition and Fraud of the *Priests* been in all *Ages*, and in all Corrupt *Religions*. But of all the Scenes of Noble Objects that present it self in the *Bay* of *Puzzolo*, the *Rests* of *Caligula's Bridge* are the most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten of the *Pillars* that supported the *Arches*, and of some of the *Arches*, the half is yet intire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the *Water* where the furthest of those *Pillars* is built; but my *Water-man* assured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have since my being in *Naples*, in-

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structed one that was going thither in this particular, and have received this account from him; that he had taken care to plum the water at the furthest pillar of *Caligula's bridge*, on the *Puzzoli* side; and found it was seven fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the Watermen assured him, that on the other side before *Baia*, the water was twenty six fathom deep: but as he had not a plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Watermen had assured him, that the Water was ten fathom deep on the *Puzzoli* side, though upon tryal he found it was only seven and a half: and by this measure one may suppose that the water is twenty fathom deep on the other side: so that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of, that *Pillars of Brick* could have been built in such a depth of water.

This I cannot believe, but it is certainly so deep that one can scarce imagin how it was possible to build in such a depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea, that seems yet more impossible. It is a Noble Monument of the profuse and extravagant Expence of a *Brutal Tyrant*, who made one of the vastest *Bridges* that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of *Sea*: merely to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his Vanity: As for *Agripina's Tomb*, it is no great matter, only the *Bas Reliefs* are yet intire. The marvellous *Fish-Pond* is a great Basin of Water, wrought like a huge *Temple*, standing upon eight and forty

great *Pillars*, all hewed out of the *Rock*; and they are laid over with four crusts of the old *Plaster*, which is now as hard as stone; this is believed to be a work of *Nero's*: and about a quarter of a mile from thence, there is another vast work, which goeth into a *Rock*; but at the entrance there is a Noble *Portico* built of *Pillars of Brick*; and as one enters into the *Rock*, he finds a great many rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the *Rock*, and all covered over with *Plaster*, which is still intire, and so white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made; there are a vast number of those Rooms, they are said to be a hundred; from whence this *Cave* carrieth the name of the *Centum Camerae*: This hath been as expensive a work as it is useless; it is intituled to *Nero*, and here they say he kept his *Prisoners*, But there is nothing in all this *Bay* that is both so curious and so useful as the *Baths*, which seem to flow from the same reason that is the cause of these *Eruptions* in the *Vesuvio* and *Sulfatara*, and the *Grottos* formerly mentioned, that as this heat makes some *Fountains* there to be boiling hot, so it sends up a *Steam* through the *Rock*, that doth not break through the pores of the Stone where it is hard; but where the *Rock* is soft and spongy, there the steams come through with so melting a heat, that a man is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat; but if he stoops low in the passages that are cut in the *Rock*, he finds no heat, because there

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the Rock is hard. Those *Steams*, as they are all *Hot*, so they are impregnated with such *Mine-rals* as they find in their way through the *Rock*; and near this *Bath* there are *Galleries* hewed out of the *Rock*, and faced with a building; in which there are, as it were, *Bedsteads* made in the *Walls*, upon which, those that come thither, to sweat for their health, lay their *Quilts* and *Bed-cloaths*, and so come regularly out of their sweats.

It is certain, that a man can no where pass a day of his life, both with so much pleasure, and with such advantage, as he finds in this journey to *Puzzoli*, and all along the *Bay*: but though anciently this was all so well built, so peopled, and so beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one see more visibly what a change Time brings upon all places: for *Naples* hath so intirely eat out this place, and drawn its *Inhabitants* to it, that as *Puzzoli* it self is but a small *Village*, so there is now no other in all this *Bay*, which was anciently built almost all round; for there were seven big *Towns* upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in *Naples*, I cannot pass by that Noble remnant of the *Via Apia*, that runs along thirty miles of the *Way* between it and *Rome*, without making some mention of it: this *High-way* is twelve foot broad, all made of huge *Stones*, most of them blew, and they are generally a foot and half large of all sides: the strength of this *Cause-way* appears in its long

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duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred *Years*; and is in most places for several miles together, as intire as when it was first made: and the Botches that have been made for mending such places, that have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides: whereas so much weight as those *Stones* carry, should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: Besides, that the Earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase chiefly by the dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which Reasons should make a more sensible difference between those *Ways* and the Soil on both sides: and this makes me apt to believe, that anciently those Ways were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Those ways were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant, than to walk along them, so nothing more inconvenient for Horses and all sorts of Carriage; and indeed *Mulets* are the only Beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several Rests of *Roman Antiquities* at the *Mole of Cajeta*; but the *Isle of Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the Sea off from *Naples*, gave me a strange Idea of *Tiberius's*

berius's Reign, since it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to see a *Prince* abandon the best Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and shut himself up in a little *Island*, in which I was told, there was a tradition of seven little *Palaces* that he built in it ; or to see so vast a *Body* as the *Roman Empire* so governed by such a *Tyranical Prince*, at such a distance from the chief Seat, so that all might have been reversed long before that the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to see so vast a *State*, that had so great a sense of liberty, subdued by so brutal, and so voluptuous a *Man* as *Anthony*, and so raw a *Youth* as *Augustus* ; so the wonder is much improved, when we see a *Prince* at a hundred and fifty *Miles* distance, shut up in an *Island*, carry the *Reins* of so great a *Body* in his hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to *Rome*, which as it was once the *Empress* of the *World*, in a succession of many Ages, so hath in it at present more *curious things* to entertain the attention of a *Traveller*, than any other place in *Europe*. On the side of *Tuscany*, the entry into *Rome* is very surprizing to Strangers ; for one cometh along for a great many miles, upon the remains of the *Via Flaminia*, which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia* ; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the *Roman Greatness*, who laid such *Causeways* all *Italy* over. And within the Gate of the

Porta di Populo, there is a Noble Obelisk, a vast Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two twins, resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several hands one sees a long *Vista* of Streets. There is not a Town in these parts of the World, where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces are so Noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean; which indeed discovers very visibly the Misery under which the Romans groan. The Churches of Rome are so well known, that I will not adventure on any description of them, and indeed, I had too transcient a view of them, to make it with that degree of exactness which the subject requires. *S. Peters* alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its length, height, and breadth are all so exactly proportioned, and the eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first view, doth not appear so vast as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four Pillars, upon which the Cupulo rises, are of such a prodigious bigness, that one would think they were strong enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever; so when one climbs up to the top of that vast height, he wonders what Foundation can bear so huge a weight; for as the Church is of a vast height, so the Cupulo rises four hundred and fifteen big steps above the Roof of the Church. In the height of the Concave of this Cupulo, there is a representation, that though it can hardly be seen from

From the floor below, unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much scandal, yet it is a gross indication of the *Idolatri* of that *Church*; for the *Divinity* is there pictured as an *ancient man* compassed about with *Angels*. I will say nothing of the great *Altar*, of the *Chair* of *S. Peter*; of the great *Tombs*, of which, the three chief are *Paul* the III. *Urban* the VIII. and *Alexander* the VII. nor of the vast *Vaults* under this *Church*, and the Remains of *Antiquity* that are reserved in them: nor will I undertake a description of the adjoining *Palace*, where the painting of the *Corridori*, and of many of the *Rooms*, by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are so rich, that one is sorry to see a work of that value laid on *Fresco*, and which must by consequence wear out too soon, as in several places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous *Chappel* of *Sisto V.* and that is all painted in *Fresco*, one corner that represents the *Murther* of the renowned *Admiral Castilion*, and that hath written under it those words, *Rex Colinii necem probat*: The vast length of the *Gallery* on one side, and of the *Library* on another, do surprize one; the *Gardens* have many *Statues* of a most excessive value, and some good *Fountains*; but the *Gardens* are ill maintained both here, and in the *Palace* on the *Quirinal*. And indeed, in most of the *Palaces* of *Rome*, if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case, that

is brought together at so vast a charge, they would make another sort of shew, and be looked at with much more pleasure. In the Apartments of *Rome* there are a great many things that offend the sight: The *Doors* are generally mean, and the *Locks* meaner, except in the *Palace of Prince Borghese*, where as there is the vastest collection of the best *Pieces*, and of the hands of the greatest Masters that are in all *Europe*, so the *Doors* and *Locks* give not that distast to the eye, that one finds elsewhere. The *Flooring* of the *Palaces* is all of *Brick*, which is so very mean, that one sees the disproportion that is between the *Floors* and the rest of the *Room*, not without a sensible perception and dislike. It is true, they say, their *Air* is so cold and moist in *Winter*, that they cannot pave with *Marble*; and the heat is sometimes so great in *Summer*, that *Flooring* of *Wood* would crack with heat, as well as be eat up by the *Vermin* that would nestle in it. But if they kept in their great *Palaces* servants to wash their *Floors*, with that care that is used in *Holland*, where the *Air* is moister, and the *Climate* is more productive of *Vermine*, they would not find such effects from wooden floors, as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out so much *Wealth* all at once, as the *Italians* do, upon the building and finishing of their *Palaces* and *Gardens*, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them: another thing I observed in their *Palaces*; there

indeed a great Series of Noble *Rooms* one within another, of which their Apartments are composed; but I did not find, at the end of the Apartments, where the Bed-Chamber is, such a disposition of Rooms for Back-stairs, Dressing-rooms, Closets, Servants Rooms, and other Conveniences as are necessary for accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not so necessary for an apartment of State, in which *Magnificence* is more considered than Convenience; but I found the same want in those Apartments in which they lodged; so that notwithstanding all the Riches of their *Palaces*, it cannot be said, that they are well lodged in them; and their *Gardens*, are yet less understood, and worse kept than their *Palaces*. It is true, the *Villa Borgese* ought to be excepted, where, as there is a prodigious collection of *Bas Reliefs*, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered all over, that are of a vast value; so the *Statues* within, of which some are of *Porphiry*, and others of *Touchstone*, are amazing things: The whole ground of this *Park*, which is about three miles in compass, and in which there are six or seven *Lodges*, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I was in an *English Park*, when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better situated upon a higher ground, and hath more *Water-works*, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the *House* nor *Statues* approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But for

for the Furniture of the *Palaces of Rome*; the publick Apartments are all covered over with *Pictures*; and for those Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad gold Galloon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold Fringe at top and bottom; but there is very little *Tapistry* in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this digression, from the general view, that I was giving you of the *Popes Palace*. I named one part of it, which will ingage me into a new digression, as it well deserves one, and that is, the *Library* of the *Vatican*. The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it, is much greater; for here is a Collection of *Books* that filleth a mans eye: There is first a great *Hall*, and at the end of it there runs out on both sides, two *Galleries* of so vast a length, that though the half of them is already furnished with *Books*, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new *Books* than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelberg Library* stands by it self, and filleth the one side of the *Gallery*, as the *Duke of Urbins Library* of *Mannscripts* filleth the other. But though these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those of *Heidelberg*. When it appeared that I was come from *England*, King *Henry* the VIII's Book of the *Seven Sacraments*, with an Inscription writ upon it with his own Hand to *Pope Leo* the X. was shewed me; together with a Collection of some *Letters* that he

writ.

writ to *Anna Bolen*, of which some are in *English*, and some in *French*. I, that knew his *Hand* well, saw clearly that they were no *Forgeries*. There are not many *Latin Manuscripts* of great *Antiquity* in this *Library*; some few of *Virgil's* I saw writ in *Capitals*. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present dispute that is on foot between *Mr. Schelstrat* the *Librarykeeper*, and *Mr. Maimbourg*, concerning the *Council of Constance*. The two Points in debate are the Words of the *Decree* made in the *fourth Session*, and the *Popes* Confirmation. In the *fourth Session*, according to the *French Manuscripts*, a *Decree* was made, subjecting the *Pope*, and all other Persons whatsoever, to the *Authority of the Council*, and to the *Decrees* it was to make, and to the *Reformation* it intended to establish both in the *Head* and the *Members*; which as it implies, that the *Head* was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, so it sets the *Council* so directly above the *Pope*, that this *Session* being confirmed by the *Pope*, putteth those who assert the *Popes* *Infallibility* to no small straits: For if *Pope Martin*, that approved this *Decree*, was *infallible*, then this *Decree* is good still; and if he was *not infallible*, no other *Pope* was *infallible*. To all this *Schelstrat* answers from his *Manuscripts*, that the words of a *Reformation in Head and Members*, are not in the *Decree* of that *Session*; and he did shew me several *Manuscripts*, of which *two* were evidently writ during the sitting of the *Council*, and were not at all dashed,

in which these words were not. I know the hand and way of writing of that Age too well to be easily mistaken in my judgment, concerning those *Manuscripts*; but if these words are wanting there are other words in them that seem to be much stronger for the *superiority* of the *Council* above that *Pope*. For it is *Decreed*, that *Popes*, and all other persons, were bound to submit to the *Decisions* of the *Council*, as to *Faith*: which words are not in the *French Manuscripts*: Upon this I told *Mr. Schelstrat*, that I thought the words in these *Manuscripts* were stronger than the other, since the word *Reformation*, as it was used in the time of that *Council*, belonged chiefly to the *Correcting* of *Abuses*, it being often applied to the *Regulations* that were made in the *Monastick Orders*, when they were brought to a more exact *Observation* of the *Rules* of their *Order*: So though the *Council* had *Decreed* a *Reformation* both of *Head* and *Members*, I do not see that this would import more, than that the *Papacy* had fallen in some *Disorders* that needed a *Reformation*: and this is not denied, even by those who assert the *Popes Infallibility*: but a submission to points of *Faith*, that is expressly asserted in the *Roman Manuscripts*, is a much more positive Evidence against the *Popes Infallibility*: and the word *Faith* is not capable of so large a sense as may be justly ascribed to *Reformation*. But this difference, in so main a point between *Manuscripts* concerning so late a transaction, gave me an occasion to reflect on the

vast

last uncertainty of *Tradition*, especially of matters that are at a great distance from us ; when those that were so lately transacted, are so differently represented in *Manuscripts*, and in which, both those of *Paris* and *Rome*, seem to carry all possible evidences of sincerity. As for the *Popes* confirmation of that *Decree*, it is true, by a *General Bull*, *Pope Martin* confirmed the *Council of Constance* to such a period ; but besides that, he made a particular *Bull*, as *Schelftrat* assured me, in which he enumerated all the *Decrees* that he confirmed, and amongst those, this *Decree* concerning the *Superiority* of the *Council* is not named ; this seemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I desired to see the *Original* of the *Bull* ; for there seems to be just reasons to apprehend a *Forgery* here : He promised to do his endeavours, tho he told me, that would not be easy ; for the *Bulls* were strictly kept ; and the next day when I came, hoping to see it, I could not be admitted : but he assured me, that if that had not been the last day of my stay at *Rome*, he would have procured a *Warrant* for my seeing the *Original* : so this is all I can say as to the authenticity of that *Bull* : But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree to *Mr. Schelftrat*, that the *General Bull* of *Confirmation*, ought to be limited to the other, that enumerates the particular *Decrees* : but since that particular *Bull* was never discovered till he hath found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the *Forms* of the *Consistory* ; and was a fraudulent thing,

thing, of which no noise was to be made in the Age, and therefore in all the Dispute that followed in the Council of *Basil*, between the *Pope* and Council, upon this very point, no mention was made of it by either side; and thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the Artifices and Fraud of that Court: That at the same time in which the necessity of their Affairs obliged the *Pope* to confirm the *Decrees* of the Council, he contrived a secret *Bull*, which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the Authority of the General Confirmation that he gave: and therefore a *Bull*, that doth not pass in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority; and so this pretended *Bull* cannot limit the other *Bull*. There were some other things, relating to this Debate, that were shewed me by Mr. *Schelfstrat*; but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large Account of the Learned Men at *Rome*, *Bellori* is deservedly famous for his knowledg of the *Greek* and *Egyptian Antiquities*, and for all that belongs to the *Mythologies*, and *Superstitions* of the *Heathens*, and hath a Closet richly furnished with things relating to those matters. *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his Understanding of the Old *Roman Architecture* and *Fabricks*. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the *Jesuites College*, and is much above the common Rate both for *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks* and *Church History*. And he to whom I was the most obliged Abbot *Nazari*, hath so general a view of the several

eral parts of *Learning*, tho he hath chiefly apply-
 ed himself to *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks*, and is a
 Man of so ingaging a Civility, and used me in so
 particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as
 those others whom I have mentioned, and whom
 I had the Honour to see, all the acknowledgments
 of esteem and gratitude that I can possibly make
 them.

One sees in *Cardinal d'Estre* all the advantages
 of a high birth, great Parts, a generous Civility,
 and a measure of knowledge far above what can
 be expected from a Person of his rank; but as
 he gave a Noble Protection to one of the *most*
learned Men that this Age hath produced, Mr.
Lamoy, who lived many years with him, so it is
 visible, that he made a great progress by the con-
 versation of so extraordinary a person; and as
 for *Theological Learning*, there is now none of the
College equal to him. *Cardinal Howard* is too
 well known in *England* to need any character
 from me: The elevation of his present condi-
 tion hath not in the least changed him; he hath
 all the sweetness and gentleness of temper that
 we saw in him in *England*, and he retains the
 unaffected Simplicity and Humility of a *Fryer*,
 amidst all the Dignity of the *Purple*, and as he
 sheweth all the generous care and concern for his
Country-men that they can expect from him; so I
 met with so much of it, in so many obliging marks
 of his goodness for my self, that went far beyond
 a common civility, that I cannot enough acknow-
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ledge it. I was told, the *Popes Confessor* was a very extraordinary man for the *Oriental Learning*, which is but little known in *Rome*: He is a Master of the *Arabick Tongue*, and hath writ, as *Abu Nazari* told me, the learnedst *Book* against the *Muhometan Religion*, that the World hath yet seen, but is not yet Printed: He is not so much esteemed in *Rome* as he would be elsewhere; for his *Learning* is not in vogue; and the *School Divinity* and *Casuistical Learning*, being that for which *Divines* are most esteemed there; he whose *Studies* lead him another way, is not so much valued as he ought to be; and perhaps the small account that the *Pope* makes of *Learned Men*, turns somewhat upon the *Confessor*; for it is certain, that this is a *Reign* in which *Learning* is very little encouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have, for the present *Pontificate*, one made a pleasant reflection to me, he said, Those *Popes* that intended to raise their *Families*, as they saw the censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things, that might soften the *Spirits* of the *People*. No man did more for beautifying *Rome*, for finishing *St. Peters*, and the *Library*, and for furnishing *Rome* with *Water*, than *Pope Paul* the *V.* though at the same time he did not forget his *Family*; and though the other *Popes*, that have raised great *Families*, have not done this to so eminent a degree as he did, yet there are many remains of their *Magnificence*;
whereas

whereas those *Popes* that have not raised *Families*, have it seems thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and so they have not done much, either to recommend their Government to their *Subjects*, or their *Reign* to *Posterity*; and it is very plain, that the present *Pope* taketh no great care of this. His life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all those publick Scandals that make a noise in the World: and there is at present a regularity in *Rome*, that deserveth great commendation; for publick Vices are not to be seen there: His personal *Sobriety* is also singular. One assured me, that the Expence of his *Table* did not amount to a *Crown* a day, though this is indeed short of *Sisto V.* who gave order to his *Steward*, never to exceed five and twenty *Bajoicks*, that is, *eighteen pence* a day, for his *Diet*. The *Pope* is very careful of his Health, and doth never expose it, for upon the least disorder, he shuts himself up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the least indisposition many days; but his Government is severe, and his *Subjects* are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the Poverty of a Nation, not only dispeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakning the natural fertility of the *Subjects*; for as men and women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the tearing Anxieties that Want brings with it, must be much more lively,

lively, than those that are pressed with Want: so it is very likely, that the one must be much more disposed to propagate, than the other: and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the *Fruitfulness* of Geneva and Switzerland, with the *Barenness* that reigns over all Italy. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious productions of Geneva; Mr. Tronchin, that was Professor of Divinity, and Father to the Judicious and worthy Professor of the same name, that is now there, dyed at the age of seventy six Years, and had an hundred and fifteen Persons all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him called him Father. And Mr. Calendrin, a pious and laborious Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the Family of the Calendrini; who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and fifty years ago, left Lucca their Native City with the Turretini, the Diodati, and the Bourlamachi; and some others that came and settled at Geneva: He is now but seven and forty years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five Persons that are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to Eighty, and the Family multiplyeth as it hath done, he may see some hundreds that will be in the same relation to him; but such things as these are not to be found in Italy.

There is nothing that delights a stranger more in Rome, than to see the great Fountains of Water, that are almost in all the corners of it: That old

Aqueduct

Aqueduct which *Paul* the V. restored, cometh from a collection of *Sources*, five and thirty miles distant from *Rome*, that runs all the way upon an *Aqueduct* in a *Channel* that is vaulted, and is liker a *River* than a *Fountain*: It breaketh out in five several *Fountains*, of which some give water about a foot square. That of *Sixtus* the V. the great *Fountain* of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of *Water*. The glorious *Fountain* in the *Piazza Navona*, that hath an Air of greatness in it that surprizeth one, the *Fountain* in the *Piazza de Spagna*, those before *S. Peters*, and the *Palazzo Farnese*, with many others, furnish *Rome* so plentifully, that almost every private *House* hath a *Fountain* that runs continually. All these, I say, are Noble Decorations, that carry an usefulness with them, that cannot be enough commended: and gives a much greater Idea of those who have taken care to supply this *City*, with one of the chief Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, than of others, who have laid out millions meerly to bring quantities of *Water* to give the eye a little diversion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectually eternized their Fame, if they had been employed as the *Romans* did their Treasures, in furnishing great *Towns* with *Water*.

There is an universal *Civility* that reigns among all sorts of people at *Rome*, which in a great measure flows from their *Government*, for

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every man being capable of all the advancements of that *State*, since a simple *Ecclesiastick* may become one of the *Monsignori*, and one of these may be a *Cardinal*, and one of these may be chosen *Pope*, this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an Exactness of Respect: for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes Professions of Esteem and Kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of *Rome* is generally upon *News*, for though there is no *News Printed* there, yet in the several *Antichambers* of the *Cardinals* (where if they make any considerable figure, there are *Assemblies* of those that make their Court to them) one is sure to hear all the *News* of *Europe*, together with many speculations upon what passeth. At the *Queen of Swedens*, all that relateth to *Germany*, or the *North* is ever to be found; and that *Princess*, that must ever Reign among all that have a true taste either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best Court of the *Strangers*; and her Civility, together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her conversation; maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*; I will not use her own words to my self, which was, That she now grew to be one of the *Antiquities* of *Rome*. The *Ambassadors* of *Crowns*, who live here in another form than in any other Court, and the *Cardinals* and *Pre-*

lates

lates of the several Nations, that do all meet and center here, make, that there is more *News in Rome*, than any where: For *Priests*, and the Men of *Religious Orders*, write larger and more particular *Letters*, than any other sort of Men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loss of time, that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that Studies *Antiquities*, *Pictures*, *Statues*, or *Musick*, there is more entertainment for him at *Rome*, than in all the rest of *Europe*; but if he hath not a taste of these things, he will soon be weary of a place where the Conversation is always general, and where there is little Sincerity or Openness practised, and by consequence, where friendship is little understood. The *Women* here begin to be a little more conversable, though a Nation naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great liberty in a City that is composed of *Ecclesiastics*; who being denied the priviledge of *Wives* of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the *Wives* of others: The Liberties that were taken in the *Constable of Naples's Palace*, had indeed disgusted the *Romans* much at that Freedom, which had no bounds. But the *Dutchess of Bracciano*, that is a *French Woman*, hath by the exactness of her deportment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms of a Noble Conversation, recovered in a great measure, the Credit of those Liberties, that *Ladies*, beyond the Mountains pra-

life, with all the strictness of Vertue: For she receiveth visits at publick hours, and in publick Rooms; and by the liveliness of her Conversation, maketh that her Court is the pleasantest Assembly of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the *Palaces* of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not ingage in a description of *Rome*, either ancient or modern, this hath been done so oft, and with such exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been already published. It is certain, that when one is in the *Capitol*, and sees those poor Rests of what once it was, he is surprized to see a Building of so great a Fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it was once a *Castle*, scituated upon a Hill, able to hold out against a Siege of the *Gauls*: The *Tarpeian Rock* is now of so small a fall, that a man would think it no great matter, for his diversion, to leap over it: and the shape of the ground hath not been so much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For *Severus's Triumphal Arch*, which is at the Foot of the Hill on the other side, is not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vast *Amphitheater* of *Titus* is not above three foot sunk under the level of the ground. Within the *Capitol* one sees many Noble remnants of *Antiquity*; but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, than the *Tables of their Consuls*, which are upon the *Walls*: and the *Inscription* on the *Columna Rostrata* in the time of the first *Punick War*, is without doubt the most

most valuable Antiquity in *Rome*. From this all along the sacred way, one findeth such remnants of *Old Rome* in the Ruins of the *Temples*, in the *Tryumphal Arches*, in the *Porticos*, and other Remains of that glorious Body, that as one cannot see these too often, so every time one sees them, they kindle in him vast Ideas of that *Republic*, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleasure. From the height of the Convent of *Araceli*, a man hath a full view of all the extent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the parts of the City, that were most inhabited antiently, are those that are now laid in great *Gardens*, or, as they call them, *Vineyards*, of which some are half a mile in compass: The vastness of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury, is that which passeth Imagination; the prodigious *Amphitheater* of *Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand spectators; the great extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the *vaules* where the *Waters* were reserved that furnished *Titus's Baths*; and above all, *Dioclesian's Baths*, tho built when the *Empire* was in it's decay, are so far above all *Modern Buildings*, that there is not so much as room for a comparison. The extent of those *Baths* is above half a mile in compass; the vastness of the *Rooms* in which the *Bathers* might swim, of which the *Cartbusian's Church*, that yet remains intire, is one, and the many great *Pillars*, all of one Stone of *Marble*, beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter Ages are not capable.

The beauty of their *Temples*, and of the *Portico's* before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the *Fabrick* without, looketh as mean, being only *Brick*, as the *Architecture* is bold; for it riseth up in a *Vault*, and yet at the top there is an open left, of thirty foot in Diameter, which, as it is the only *Window* of the *Church*, so it filleth it with light, and is the hardiest piece of *Architecture* that ever was made. The *Pillars* of the *Portico* are also the noblest in *Rome*, they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of one *Stone*; and the numbers of those ancient *Pillars*, with which, not only many of the *Churches* are beaurified, chiefly *St. Mary Maggiore*, and *St. John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private houses are adorned, and of the Fragments of which there are such multitudes in all the *Streets* of *Rome*, giveth a great Idea of the Expencefulness of the old *Romans* in their buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of those *Pillars*, must have cost more than whole *Palaces* do now; since most of them were brought from *Greece*: Many of these *Pillars* are of *Porphyry*, others of *Jasp*, others of grained *Marble*, but the greatest number is of white *Marble*: The two *Columns*, *Trajan's* and *Antonins*; the two *Horses* that are in the *Mount Cavallo*, and the other two *Horses* in the *Capitol*, which have not indeed the postures and motion of the other: The bras *Horse*, that as is believed carrieth *Marcus Aurelius*; the remains of *Nero's Colossus*, the *Temple* of *Bacchus* near the *Catacomb* of *S. Agnes*, which is the

the intirest and the least altered of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace; those of the Sun and Moon: that of Romulus and Remus; (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick that is now left; for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when Rome grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its Antiquity) the many other Porticos, the Arches of Severus, of Titus, and Constantine, in the last of which one sees that the Sculpture of his Age, was much sunk from what it had been; only in the top there are some Bas Reliefs, that are clearly of a much ancients time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands, and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot see oft enough, if he would form in himself a just idea of the vastness of that Republick, or rather Empire: There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great value, dug up in all the quarters of Rome, these last hundred and four-score years, since Pope Leo the tenth's time; who as he was the greatest Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, so was the generous Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that first set on foot the inquiring into the Riches of Old Rome, that lay, till his time, for the most part, hid under ground; and indeed if he had been less scandalous in his Impiety and Atheism,

of which neither *he* nor his *Court* were so much as ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated persons of any Age. Soon after him *Pope Paul* the III. gave the ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his *Family*: But I was told, that this large piece of ground, in which one should look for the greatest collection of the *Antiquities* of the highest value, since this is the Ruin of the *Palace* of the *Roman Emperors*, hath never been yet searched into with any exactness: So that when a curious *Prince* cometh, that is willing to imploy many hands in digging up and down this *Hill*, we may expect new Scenes of *Roman Antiquities*. But all this matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named these things, because I can add nothing to those copious Descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing of the *modern Palaces*, or the Ornaments of them, either in *Pictures* or *Statues*, which are things that carry one so far, that it is not easie to give bounds to the Descriptions into which one findeth himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a Subject. The number of the *Palaces* is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a *Traveller*, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true, the *Palestrina*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese* have somewhat in them that leave an impression which no new *Objects* can wear out; and as the last hath a noble *Square* before it, with two great *Fountains*

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in it, so the *Statue of Hercules* and the *Bell*, that are below, and the *Gallery* above stairs, are unvaluable; the *Roof* of the *Gallery* is one of the best pieces of *Painting* that is extant, being all of *Carrachio's* hand; and there are in that *Gallery* the greatest number of *heads* of the *Greek Philosophers* and *Poets* that I ever saw together: That of *Homer* and that of *Socrates* were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without dispute, a true *Antick*, so it carrieth in it all the *Characters* that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*; the flat *Nose*, the broad *Face*, the simplicity of *Look*, and the mean *Appearance* which that great *Philosopher* made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the *Wonders* of the *Bell*, which is indeed a *Rock of Marble*, cut out into a whole *Scene of Statues*; but as the *History* of it is not well known, so there are such faults in the *Sculpture*, that though it is all extream fine, yet one seeth it hath not the exactness of the best times. As for the *Churches* and *Convents* of *Rome*, as the number, the *Vastness*, the *Riches* both of *Fabrick*, *Furniture*, *Painting* and other *Ornaments* amaze one, so here again a *Stranger* is lost; and the *Convent* that one seeth last, is always the most admired: I confess, the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the *Inquisition* sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible impres-

sion upon one that passeth at *Rome* for an *Heretic*, though except one committeth great follies, he is in no danger there; and the Poverty that reigns in that *City* maketh them find their interest so much in using *Strangers* well, whatsoever their *Religion* may be, that no man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary reason to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the *Church* and *See* of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest Civilities possible among all sorts of People, and in particular both among the *English* and *Scottish* *Jesuits*, though they knew well enough that I was no friend to their *Order*.

In the *Gallery* of the *English* *Jesuits* among the *Pictures* of their *Martyrs*, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not expose a *Picture*, with such a name on it, to all strangers; yet *Oldcorn*, being a name less known, is hung there among their *Martyrs*, though he was as clearly convicted of the *Gunpowder* *Treason*, as the other was: and it seemed a little strange to me to see that at a time, in which, for other Reasons the *Writers* of that *Communion* have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that *Conspiracy*, a *Jesuit* convicted of the blackest crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among

mong their *Martyrs*. I saw likewise there the Original of those *Emblematical Prophecies*, relating to *England*, that the *Jesuits* have had at *Rome* near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a *Copy*, so I found my *Copy* was true. I hapned to be at *Rome* during *St. Gregory's Fair and Feast*, which lasted several days. In his *Church* the *Hosty* was exposed; and from that, all that came thither, went to the *Chappel*, that was once his *House*, in which his *Statue* and the *Table*, where he served the poor, are preserved: I saw such vast numbers of People there, that one would have thought all *Rome* was got together. They all kneeled down to his *Statue*, and after a *Prayer* said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the *Table* with his *Beads*, as hoping to draw some vertue from it. I will add nothing of the several *Obelisks* and *Pillars* that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated *Chappels* that are in some of the great *Churches*, in particular those of *Sixtus* the V. and *Paul* the V. in *Santa Maria Maggiore*, of the *Water-works* in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the *Vineyards*: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to describe *Frescati*, (for *Tivoly* I did not see) The young *Prince Borghese*, who is indeed one of the *Glories* of *Rome*, as well for his learning as for his vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those two learned *Abbots*, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give than me to receive.

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The *Water-works* in the *Aldobrandin Palace* have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in *France*, the mixture of *Wind* with the *Water*, and the *Thunders* and *Storms* that this maketh is noble: The *Water-works* of the *Ludoviso*, and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewise a greatness in them that is natural; and indeed, the *Riches* that one meets with in all places within doors in *Italy*, and the *Poverty* that one seeth every where abroad, are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely, that a great part of their movable Wealth will be ere long carried into *France*; for as soon as any *Picture* or *Statue* of great value is offered to be sold, those that are imployed by the *King of France*, do presently buy it up, so that as that *King* hath already, the greatest collection of *Pictures* that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief *Treasures* of *Italy*.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in *Rome*. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of *Natural History* that fell out there within these two years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by *Cardinal Howard*, who was one of the *Congregation* of *Cardinals* that examined and judged the matter. There were two *Nuns* near *Rome*, one as I remember was in the *City*, and the other not

far

far from it, who, after they had been for some years in a *Nunnery*, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their *Sex* was altered, which grew by some degrees to a total alteration in one; and though the other was not so entire a change, yet it was visible she was more *Man* than *Woman*; upon this the matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth it self here, is, *that these two had been always what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a disguise, to gratifie a brutal Appetite.* But to this, when I propos'd it, answer was made, that as the *Breasts* of a *Woman*, that remained still, did in a great measure shake off that Objection, so the proofs were given so fully, of their having been real *Females*, that there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any sort of Scandal in the change of their *Sex*; And if there had been any room left to suspect a Cheat or Disguise, the proceedings would have been both more severe and more secret; and these persons would have been Burnt, or at least put to Death in some terrible manner. Some *Physicians* and *Chirurgions* were appointed to examin the matter, and at last, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judg'd to be absolved from their *vows*, and were dismissed from the Obligation of a *Religious* Life, and required to go in *Mens habit*. One of them was a *Valet de Chambre* to a *Roman Marques*, when I was there: I heard of this matter only two days before I left *Rome*,

so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to so curious an *Inquirer* into *Nature*.

And since I am upon the subject of the Changes that have been made in *Nature*, I shall add one of another sort, that I examined while I was at *Geneva*: There is a *Minister* of *S. Gervais*, Mr. *Gody*, who hath a *Daughter*, that is now *sixteen Years* old; Her *Nurse* had an extraordinary thickness of hearing; at a year old, the *Child* spoke all those little words, that Children begin usually to learn at that age, but she made no progress; yet this was not observed, till it was too late; and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived then that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf that ever since though she hears great noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems, while the milk of her *Nurse*, was more abundant, and that the *Child* sucked more moderately the first year, those Humors in the Blood and Milk had not that effect on her, that appeared after she came to suck more violently: and that her *Nurse's* Milk being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that vapour that occasioned the deafness. But this *Child* hath by observing the *Motions* of the *Mouths* and *Lips* of others, acquired so many *Words*, that out of these she hath formed a sort of *Jargon*, in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own
language

language. I could understand some of her words, but could not comprehend a period; for it seemed to be a confused noise: She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she seeth the *Motion* of their *Mouths* that speak to her; so that in the *Night*, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a candle: Only one thing appeared the strangest part of the whole narration; She hath a *Sister*, with whom she has practised her language more than with any other; and in the *Night*, by laying her *Hand* on her *Sister's Mouth*, she can perceive by that, what she says, and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true, her *Mother* told me, that this did not go far, and that she found out only some short period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long: thus this young *Woman*, without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural sagacity, found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the *Misery* of her Deafness. I examined this matter critically, but only the *Sister* was not present, so that I could not see how the conversation past between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning *Rome*, I cannot hinder my self, from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most Celebrated persons that lives in it; I was talking concerning the credit that the *Order* of the *Jesuits* had every where; It was said,

said, that *all the World mistrusted them*, and yet by a strange sort of Contradiction *all the World trusted them*; and though it was well known that every *Jesuite* was truer to the *Interests* of his *Order* than he could be to the *Interests* of any *Prince* whatsoever, yet those *Princes* that would be very careful, not to suffer *Spys* to come into their *Courts*, or into their *Councils*, suffered those *Spys* to come into their *Breasts* and *Consciences*: and though *Princes* were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much *Guilt*, so they had sometimes as much *Fear* as other *People*, which a dextrous *Spy* knew well how to manage. Upon which, that *Person*, that pretended to be a *zealous Catholick*, added, that for their part, they considered only the *Character* that the *Church* gave to a *Priest*; and if the *Church* qualified him to do the functions of a *Priest*, they thought it very needless to enquire after other personal *Qualities*, which were but common things, whereas the other was all divine. On the *Contrary*, they thought it was so much the better to have to do with a poor *Ignorant Priest*; for then they had to do only with the *Church*, and not with the *Man*. Pursuant to this, that *Persons Confessor* was the greatest, and the most notorious *Blockhead* that could be found; and when they were asked, *why they made use of so weak a man*? they answered, *because they could not find a weaker*: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a *Groom*, or a

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Footman that got into *Priests Orders*, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsel of a Friend; but they knew no other use of a *Confessor*, but to confess to him, and to receive *Absolution* from him: and in so doing, they pretended they acted as became a *true Catholic*, that considered only the Power of the Church in the *Priests*, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the short Ramble that I made, which was too short to deserve the name of *Travelling*, and therefore the *Inquiries* or *Observations* that I could make, must be received with the Abatement that ought to be made for so short a stay; and all will be of a piece, when the *Remarks* are as slight, as the *Abode* I made in the places through which I past was short. As I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, so if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I saw and knew to be true, or that I had from such hands, that I have very good reason to believe it: and I fancy, that the things which made the greatest impression on my self, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many accounts, I owe all the expressions of Esteem and Gratitude that I can ever pay; so I had a more particular reason, that determined me to give you so full an account of all I saw and observed; for as you were
please

pleased at parting to do me the Honour, to desire me to communicate to you such things as appeared most remarkable to me, so I found such a vast advantage in many places, but more particularly at *Venice, Rome and Naples*, by the Happiness I have of being known to you, and of being so far considered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your *Person and Studies*, to those in whom your curious *Discoveries* had kindled that esteem for you, which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal *Inquiries into Nature*, which are among the peculiar Blessings of this *Age*; and that are read with no less care and pleasure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was so well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did my self in assuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends; and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with, to this favourable *Character* that I gave my self; so that if I made any progress in the *Inquiries* that so short a stay could enable one to make, I owe it in so peculiar a manner to you, that this Return that I make, is but a very small part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my life.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

From *Nimmegen*, the 20th of *May*, 1686.

S I R,

I Thought I had made so full a *Point* at the conclusion of my last *Letter*, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more *Letters* of the volume of the former: But new *Scenes*, and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three hours reading.

From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marseilles*, where if there were a *Road* as Safe, as the *Harbour* is Covered; and if the *Harbour* were as Large, as it is Convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the World: all is so well defended, that it is with respect either to Storms or Enemies, the securest *Port* that can be seen any where. The *Freedoms* of this place, though it is now at the mercy of the *Cittadel*, are such, and its *Scituation* draweth so much *Trade* to it, that there one seeth another appearance of *Wealth*, than I found in any *Town* of *France*; and there is a *New Street* lately built there,

there, that for the Beauty of the Buildings, and the largeness of the Street, is the Noblest I ever saw. There is in that *Port* a perpetual heat, and the *Sun* was so strong in the *Christmas-week*, that I was often driven off the *Key*. I made a *Tour* from thence through *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no account of *Nismes*, nor of the *Amphitheater* in it, or the *Pont du Gar* near it; which as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the *English Nation*, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them, from those that have seen them on their way to *Mompelier*, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any thing of the *Soil*, the *Towns*, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have much stronger inclination to say somewhat, concerning the *Persecution* which I saw in its *Rage* and utmost *Fury*; and of which I could give you many *Instances*, that are so much beyond all the common measures of *Barbarity* and *Cruelty*, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, than are fitting now to be brought forth: and the *particulars* that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary Circumstances of *Time*, *Place*, and *Persons*, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in the

the power of their Enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in *any Age* there ever was such a *Violation* of all that is *Sacred*, either with relation to God or Man: And what I *saw* and *knew* there, from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the *Ideas* that I had taken from *Books* of the *Cruelty* of that *Religion*, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me, shall never end but with my Life: The *Applauses* that the *whole Clergy* give to this way of proceeding, the many *Panegyricks* that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are numbers writ by smaller *Authors* in every Town of any note there; and the *Sermons* that are all flights of flattery upon this subject, are such evident Demonstrations of their sense of this matter, that what is now on foot may be well termed, *the Act of the whole Clergy of France*, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the *Roman Communion*. If any are more moderate than others; and have not so far laid off the humane nature, as to go in entirely into those bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret, as if it were half Treason: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the *Dragoons* to higher degrees of *Rage*: and there was such a *Heat* spread over all the *Country*, on this occasion, that one could not go into any *Ordinary*, or mix in any promiscuous

miscuous conversation, without finding such effects of it, that it was not easie for such as were toucht with the least degree of Compassion for the *Miseries* that the poor *Protestants* suffered, to be a witness to the *Insultings* that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagin, that this hath not been approved in *Italy*, and it is true, there were not any publick *Rejoycings* upon it at *Rome*; no *Indulgences* nor *Te Deums* were heard of: And the *Spanish Faction* being so prevalent there, it is not strange if a course of proceedings, that is without an example, was set forth, by all that were of *that Interest*, in its proper colours; of which I met with some instances my self, and could not but smile, to see some of the *Spanish Faction* so far to forget their *Courts of Inquisition*, as to argue against the *Conversions* by the *Dragoons*, as a reproach to the *Catholick Religion*. Yet the *Pope* was of another mind; for the *Duke d' Estrées* gave him an account of the *Kings Proceedings* in this matter very copiously; as he himself related it. Upon which the *Pope* approved all, and expressed a great satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter; and the *Pope* added, that he found some *Cardinals* (as I remember the *Duke d' Estrées* said two) were not pleased with it, and had taken the liberty to censure it; but the *Pope* said, *they were too blame*: The *Duke d' Estrées* did not name the two *Cardinals*, tho he said, he believed he knew who they were; and it is very like that Cardinal *Pio* was

was one; for I was told, that he spoke freely enough of this matter. I must take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not see that the *French King* is to be so much blamed in this matter as his *Religion* is, which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate *Hereticks*, and not to keep his *Faith* to them; so that instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a *Religion* that doth certainly oblige him to divest himself of *Humanity*, and to violate his *Faith*, whensoever the cause of his *Church* and *Religion* requireth it: Or if there is any thing in this conduct, that cannot be entirely justified from the *Principles* of that *Religion*, it is this, that he doth not put the *Hereticks* to Death out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the *Extremities* possible, to sign an *Abjuration*, that all the *World* must needs see, is done against their *Consciencs*: And this being the only End of their *Miseries*; those that would think any sort of *Death* a happy conclusion of their *Sufferings*, seeing no prospect of such a glorious issue out of their *Trouble*, are prevailed on by the many *lingring Deaths*, of which they see no end, to make *Shipwrack* of the *Faith*: This appearance of *Mercy*, in not putting men to *Death*, doth truly verifie the *Character* that *Solomon* giveth of the tender *Mercies* of the wicked, that they are *Cruel*.

But I will stop here, though it is not easy to retire from so copious a subject, that as it affordeth so much matter, so upon many accounts, raiseth

raiseth a heat of thought, that is not easily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth less passion.

I past the Winter at *Geneva*, with more satisfaction than I had thought it was possible for me to have found any where out of *England*: though that received great allays from the most lamentable *Stories* that we had every day from *France*: But there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better. I ought to make the most publick acknowledgments possible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met with in my own particular: but that is too low a Subject to entertain you with it. That which pleased me most was of a more publick Nature; before I left *Geneva*, the number of the *English* there was such, that I found we could make a small Congregation; for we were twelve or fourteen; so I addressed my self to the Council of 25. for Liberty to have our own Worship in our own Language, according to the *English Liturgy*. This was immediately granted in so obliging a manner, that as there was not one person that made any Exception to it, so they sent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in case our number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a Church, they would grant us one which had been done in *Queen Maries Reign*: but till then, we might hold our *Assemblys* as we thought fit. So after that time, during the rest of my stay there, we had every

Sunday

Sunday our Devotions according to the *Common Prayer* Morning and Evening: and at the Evening Prayer, I *preach* in a Room that was indeed too large for our small Company; but there being a considerable number in *Geneva* that understand *English*, and in particular some of the Professors and Ministers; we had a great many Strangers; that met with us; and the last Sunday I gave the Sacrament according to the way of the Church of England; and upon this occasion, I found a general joy in the Town, for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our Church; and as in their publick Prayers they always prayed for the Churches of Great Britain, as well as for the King, so in private Discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our Constitutions; and they spoke of the unhappy Divisions among us, and of the Separation that was made from us, upon the account of our Government and Ceremonies, with great regret and dislike. I shall name to you only two of their Professors, that as they are Men of great Distinction, so they were the persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is Mr. Turretin, a Man of great Learning, that by his Indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out, and wasted his strength; amidst all the affluence of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one discerns in him all the Modesty of a humble and mortified temper, and

of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his abundance; or rather beyond it: And there is in him such a melting Zeal for Religion, as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the seriousness of Piety and Devotion, which shew it self both in private conversation and in his most edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Consciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. *Tronchin*, a Man of a strong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment; who has all his thoughts well digested; his Conversation has an engaging charm in it that cannot be resisted. He is a Man of Extraordinary vertue, and of a Readiness to oblige and serve all Persons, that has scarce any measures: His Sermons have a sublimity in them, that strikes the Hearer, as well as it edifies him: His Thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is Masculine and exact, and has all the Majesty of the Chair in it, tempered with all the Softness of Persuasion, so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues them, and triumphs over them. In such Company it was no wonder, if time seemed to go off too fast, so that I left *Geneva* with a concern, that I could not have felt in leaving any place, out of the *Isle of Britain*.

From *Geneva*, I went a second time through *Switzerland* to *Basil*: at *Avanche* I saw the Noble Fragments of a great Roman Work, which seems to have been the Portico to some Temple: the Heads of the Pillars are about four Foot square,

of the *Ionick* Order ; the *Temple* hath been dedicated to *Neptune*, or some *Sea-god* ; for on the *Fragments* of the *Architrave*, which are very beautiful, there are *Dolphins* and *Sea-Horses* in *Bas Reliefs* ; and the *Neighbourhood* of the place to the *Lakes* of *Iverdun* and *Morat* maketh this more evident : there is also a *Pillar* standing up in its full height, or rather the *Corner* of a *Building*, in which one seeth the *Rests* of a regular *Architecture* in two ranks of *Pillars* : If the ground near this were carefully searcht, no doubt it would discover more *Rests* of that *Fabrick*. Not far from this is *Morat* ; and a little on this side of it is a *Chappel*, full of the *Bones* of the *Burgundians*, that were killed by the *Swizzers*, when this place was besieged by the famous *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, who lost a great *Army* before it, that was entirely cut off by the besieged ; the *Inscription* is very extraordinary, especially for that Age : for the bones being so piled up, that the *Chappel* is quite filled with them, the *Inscription* bears, that *Charles Duke of Burgundy's Army* having besieged *Morat*, *Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit*, had left that *Monument* behind it. It cannot but seem strange to one that views *Morat*, to imagin how it was possible for a *Town* so situated, and so slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerful a *Prince*, and so great an *Army*, that brought *Canon* before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Basil*, except that I staid some time at *Bern*, and knew it

better ; and at this second time it was, that My Lord Advoyer d'Erlach gave Order to shew me the Original Records of the famous *Process* of the four *Dominicans* ; upon which I have retoucht the Letter that I writ to you last year, so that I now send it to you with the Corrections and Inlargements, that this second stay at *Bern* gave me occasion to make.

Basil is the Town of the greatest extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The *Rhine* maketh a Crook before it ; and the Town is scituated on a rising ground, which hath a noble effect on the Eye, when one is on the *Bridge* ; for it looketh like a *Theater*. Little *Basil* on the other side of the *Rhine*, is almost a fourth part of the whole : The Town is surrounded with a Wall and Ditch ; but it is so exposed on so many sides, and hath now so dreadful a Neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the *Fort of Hummingen*, that it hath nothing to trust to, humanely speaking, but its Union with the other *Cantons*. The *Maxims* of this *Canton* have hindred its being better peopled than it is ; the Advantages of the *Burgership* are such, that the *Citizens* will not share them with *Strangers*, and by this means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the last War, that *Alsatia* was so often the Seat of both *Armys*, *Basil* having then a Neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this *Maxim*. And it were a great Happiness to all the *Cantons*,

if they could have different *Degrees of Burgership*, so that the *lower Degrees* might be given to *Strangers* for their Incouragement to come and live among them: and the *higher Degrees*, which qualify Men for the advantagious Employments of the *State*, might be reserved for the *Ancient Families* of the *Natives*. *Basil* is divided into *sixteen Companies*, and every one of these hath *four Members* in the *little Council*, so that it consisteth of *sixty four*: But of those four, *two* are chosen by the *Company* it self, who are called the *Masters*, and the other two are chosen by the *Council* out of the *Company*; and thus as there are *two* sorts of *Councillors*, chosen in those different manners, there are also *two* chief *Magistrates*. There are *two Burgermasters*, that Reign by turns, and two *Zunft-Masters*, that have also their turns, and all is for life; and the last are the *Heads* of the *Companies*, like the *Romans Tribunes* of the *People*. The *Fabrick* of the *State-House* is ancient; there is very good *painting* in *fresco* upon the *Walls*; one piece hath given much offence to the *Papists*, though they have no Reason to blame the *Reformation* for it, since it was done several years before it, in the year 1510. It is a Representation of the *Day of Judgment*; and after Sentence given, the *Devil* is represented driving many before him to *Hell*, and among these there is a *Pope*, and several *Ecclesiasticks*. But it is believed, that the *Council*, which sate so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the

Pope, engaged the Town into such a hatred of the *Papacy*, that this might give the rise to this Representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the beginning of the Custom in *Basil* of the *Clocks* anticipating the time a full hour, to the sitting of the *Council*, and they say, that in order to the Advancing of business, and the shortning their *Sessions*, they ordered their *Clocks* to be set forward an hour, which continueth to this day. The *Cathedral* is a great old *Gothick* Building; the *Chamber* where the *Council* sate, is of no great reception, and is a very ordinary Room: *Erasmus's Tomb* is only a plain *Inscription* upon a great *Brass Plate*: There are many of *Holbens's Pictures* here, who was a Native of *Basil*, and was recommended by *Erasmus* to *King Henry the VIII.* the two best are a *Corpo* or *Christ Dead*, which is certainly one of the best *Pictures* in the World: There is another *Piece* of his in the *Stadt-House* (for this is in the *publick Library*) of about three or four foot square, in which, in six several *Cantons*, the several parts of our *Saviours Passion* are represented with a life and beauty that cannot be enough admired; it is valued at ten thousand *Crowns*; it is on *Wood*, but hath that Freshness of colour still on it, that seems particular to *Holbens's Pencil*. There is also a *Dance*, that he painted on the *Walls* of an *House* where he used to drink, that is so worn out, that very little is now to be seen, except shapes and Postures: but these shew the exquisiteness of the Hand,

Hand. There is another longer *Dance*, that runneth all along the side of the *Convent* of the *Augustinians*, which is now the *French Church*, which is *Deaths Dance*; there are above threescore *Figures* in it at full length; of *Persons* of all ranks, from *Popes*, *Emperours* and *Kings*, down to the meanest sorts of *Peoples*, and of all *Ages* and *Professions*, to whom *Death* appeareth in an insolent and surprising posture; and the several *Passions* that they express, are so well set out, that this was certainly a great design. But the *Fresco* being exposed to the *Air*, this was so worn out some time ago, that they ordered the best *Painter* they had to lay new *Colours* on it; but this is so ill done, that one had rather see the dead shadows of *Holbens's Pencil*, than this coarse work. There is in *Basil* a *Gun-Smith*, that maketh *Wind-Guns*, and he shewed me one, that as it received at once *Air* for ten *shot*, so it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own *Invention*, that he can *Discharge* all the *Air* that can be parcelled out in ten *shot* at once, to give a home blow. I confess those are terrible *Instruments*, and it seems the interest of mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be employed to *Assassinate* Persons so dextrously, that neither *Noise* nor *Fire* will discover from what hand the *Shot* cometh. The *Library* of *Basil* is by much the best in all *Switzerland*, there is a fine collection of *Meddals* in it, and a very handsome *Library of Manuscripts*; the *Room* is Noble, and disposed in a very

good Method. Their *Manuscripts* are chiefly the *Latin Fathers*, or *Latin Translations* of the *Greek Fathers*, some good *Bibles*; they have the *Gospel* in *Greek Capitals*, but they are vitiously writ in many places: there is an infinite number of the *Writers* of the darker Ages; and there are *Legends* and *Sermons* without number. All the Books that were in the several *Monasteries*, at the time of the *Reformation*, were carefully preserved; and they believe, that the *Bishops* who sat here in the *Council*, brought with them a great many *Manuscripts* which they never carried away. Among their *Manuscripts*, I saw four of *Huss's Letters*, that he writ to the *Bobemians* the day before his death, which are very devout, but excessively simple. The *Manuscripts* of this *Library* are far more numerous than those of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarsius*, and left by him to the publick *Library* there: they are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that ever I saw: But it is a Noble *Collection* of all the ancient *Latin Authors*; they have some few of the best of the *Roman* times, writ in great *Characters*, and there are many that are seven or eight hundred *Years* old. There is in *Basil* one of the best collections of *Meddals* that ever I saw in private hands; together with a Noble *Library*, in which there are *Manuscripts* of good antiquity, that belongs to the *Family* of *Fesch*, and that goeth from one learned Man of the *Family* to another; for this

Inheritance

Inheritance can only pass to a man of Learning, and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the publick. In *Basil*, as the several Companies have been more or less strict, in admitting some to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, so they retain their Priviledges to this day. For in such Companies, that have once received such a number that have not been of the Trade, as grew to be the majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their Interest. But some Companies have been more cautions, and have never admitted any but those that were of the Trade, so that they retain their Interest still in Government. Of these the Butchers were named for one, so that there are always four Butchers in the Council: The great Council consisteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary occasions, when the little Council thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but six *Bailiages* that belong to *Basil*: which are not employments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the *Bailiff*, only a thousand Livres a Year: They reckon that there are in *Basil* three thousand Men that can bear Arms, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the Canton, so that the Town is almost the half of this State, and the whole maketh thirty *Parishes*. There are eighteen Professors in this University; and there is a

Spirit of a more free and generous *Learning* shining there, than I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of *Habit* in *Basil*, and the Garb both of the Councillors, Ministers and Professors, their *stiff Ruffs*, and their *long Beards*, have an Air that is August: The appointments are but small, for *Councillors*, *Ministers* and *Professors* have but a hundred *Crowns* a piece: It is true; many *Ministers* are *Professors*, so this mended the matter a little: But perhaps it would go better with the State of *Learning* there, if they had but half the number of *Professors*, and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the rule of *SA Paul* [of *Womens* having on their heads the Badge of the Authority under which they are brought, which by a phrase that is not extraordinary, he calleth *Power*] better observed than at *Basil*; for all the *Married Women* go to Church with a *Coif* on their *Heads*, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their *Eyes*, so another folding covereth also their *Mouth* and *Chin*, so that nothing but the *Nose* appears, and then all turns backward in a folding, that hangeth down to their midleg. This is always *White*; so that there is there such a sight of *White Heads* in their Churches, as cannot be found any where else. The *Unmarried Women* wear *Hats*, turned up in the brims before and behind; and the brims of the sides being about a foot broad, stand out far on both hands: This fashion is also at

Strasbourg,

Strasbourg, and is worn there also by the Married Women.

I mentioned formerly the constant danger to which this Place is exposed, from the Neighbourhood of *Hunningen*; I was told, that at first it was pretended, that the French King intended to build only a small Fort there, and it was believed, that one of the *Burgomasters* of *Basle*, who was thought not only the wisest Man of that *Canon*, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all Men asleep, and to assure them, that the suffering this Fort to be built so near them, was of no importance to them; but now they see too late their fatal Error: For the place is great, and will hold a Garrison of three or four thousand Men; it is a *Pentagone*, only the side to the *Rhine* is so large, that if it were round on that side, I believe it must have been a *Hexagone*; the *Bastions* have all *Orillons*, and in the middle of them there is a void space, not filled up with earth, where there is a Magazine built so thick in the *Vault*, that it is proof against Bombs: The *Ramparts* are strongly faced; there is a large *Ditch*, and before the *Cortine*, in the middle of the *Ditch*, there runs all along a *Horn-work*, which is but ten or twelve foot high; and from the bottom of the *Ramparts*, there goeth a *Vault* to this *Horn-work*, that is for conveying of men for its defence; before this *Horn-work* there is a *half Moon*, with this that is peculiar to those new *Fortifications*; that there

is a *Ditch* that cuts the *half Moon* in an *Angle*, and maketh one *half Moon* within another; beyond that there is a *Counterſcarp* about twelve foot high above the *Water*, with a covered *Way*, and a *Glacé* designed, though not executed; there is also a great *Horn-work* besides all this, which runs out a huge way with its *Out-works* towards *Bafil*; there is also a *Bridge* laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an *Island* in the *River*, where the *Bridge* is laid, there is a *Horn-work* that filleth and fortiſieth it. The *Buildings* in this *Fort* are beautiful, and the *Square* can hold above four thousand *Men*; the *Works* are not yet quite finished, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the strongest places in *Europe*; There is a *Cavelier* on one or two of the *Bastions*, and there are *half Moons* before the *Bastions*, so that the *Savitzers* see their danger now, when it is not easie to redress it. This place is situated in a great *Plain*, so that it is commanded by no rising ground on any side of it. I made a little *Tour* into *Alsace*, as far as *Mountbelliard*; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath been so long a *Deserted Country*; and is, by consequence, so ill peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with *Woods*: In one respect it is fit to be the seat of *War*, for it is full of *Iron-works*, which bring a great deal of *Money* into the *Country*. I saw nothing peculiar in the *Iron-works* there (except that the sides of the great *Bellows* were not of *Leather*, but of *Wood*, which saves much money). I will not stand to describe them. The *River* of

of the *Rhine*, all from *Basil* to *Spire*, is so low, and is on both sides so covered with *Woods*, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no sight of the *Country*: The *River* runneth sometimes with such a force, that nothing but such *woods* could preserve its *Banks*, and even these are not able to save them quite; for the *Trees* are often washed away by the very *Roots*, so that in many places those *Trees* lye along in the *Channel* of the *River*: It hath been also thought a sort of a *Fortification* to both sides of the *River*, to have it thus faced with *Woods*, which maketh the passing of *Men* dangerous, when they must march for sometime after their passage through a *defilé*. The first night from *Basil* we came to *Brisac*, which is a poor and miserable Town, but it is a noble *Fortification*, and hath on the West-side of the *River*, over which a *Bridge* is laid, a regular *Fort* of four or five *Bastions*. The Town of *Brisac* riseth all on a *Hill*, which is a considerable height; there were near it two *Hills*, the one is taken within the *Fortification*, and the other is so well levelled with the ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many Miles is plain, so that from the *Hill*, as from a *Cavalier*, one can see exactly well, especially with the help of a *Prospect*, all the motions of an *Enemy* in case of a *Siege*: The *Fortification* is of a huge compass, above a *French League*; indeed almost a *German League*; the *Bastions* are quite filled with Earth, they

they are faced with *Brick*, and have a huge broad *Ditch* full of *Water* around them, the *Counterscarp*, the covered *Way*, which hath a *Palisade* within the *Parapet*, and the *Glacy*, are all well executed; there is a *half Moon* before every *Curtain*: the *Bastions* have no *Orillons* except one or two, and the *Curtains* are so disposed, that a good part of them defendeth the *Bastion*. The *Garrison* of this Place in time of *War* must needs be eight or ten thousand *Men*; there hath not been much done of late to this place, only the *Ditch* is so adjusted, that it is all defended by the *Flanks* of the *Bastions*. But the noblest place on the *Rhine* is *Strasburgh*: it is a *Town* of a huge extent, and hath a double *Wall* and *Ditch* all round it: the inner *Wall* is old, and of no strength, nor is the outward *Wall* very good; it hath a *Faussebraye*, and is faced with *Brick* twelve or fifteen foot above the *Ditch*: the *Counterscarp* is in an ill condition, so that the *Town* was not in case to make any long resistance; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a *Cittadel* built on that side that goeth towards the *Rhine*, that is much such a *Port* as that of *Hummingen*, and on the side of the *Cittadel* towards the *Bridge*, there is a great *Horn-work*, that runs out a great way with *Out-works* belonging to it; there are also small *Fort*s at the two chief *Gates* that lead to *Alsace*; by which the *City* is so bridled, that these can cut off all its communication with the *Country* about, in case of a *Revolt*: the *Bridge* is also well fortified;

thick; there are also *Forts* in some *Islands* in the *river*, and some *Redoubts*: so that all round this place, there is one of the greatest *Fortifications* that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the *Capitulation*, with relation to *Religion*, hath been well kept, and there is so small a number of new *Converts*, and these are for the greatest part so inconsiderable, they not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not employ the *new-fashioned* *Missionaries à la Dragon*, the old ones are not like to have so great a harvest there as they promised themselves, though they are *Jesuites*. The *Lutherans* for the greatest part, retain their *Animosities* almost to an equal degree both against *Papists* and *Calvinists*. I was in their *Church*, where, if the *Musick* of their *Psalms* pleased me much, the *Irreverence* in singing it being free to keep on, or put off the *Hat*, did appear very strange to me: The *Churches* are full of *Pictures*, in which the chief passages of our *Saviours* Life are represented; but there is no sort of religious respect paid them; they bow when they name the *Holy Ghost*, as well as at the Name of *Jesus*; but they have not the *Ceremonies* that the *Lutherans* of *Saxony* use, which *Mr. Bebel*, their *Professor* of *Divinity*, said was a great happiness; for a similitude in outward Rites might dispose the ignorant people to change too easily. I found several good people both of the *Lutheran Ministers* and others, acknowledged, that there was such a *Corruption* of *Morals* spread over the whole *City*, that as they had
justly

justly drawn down on their heads the Plague of the loss of their Liberty, so this having touched them so little, they had reason to look for severer strokes: One seeth, in the ruin of this City, what a mischievous thing the popular pride of a free City is: they fancied they were able to defend themselves, and so they refused to let an *Imperial Garrison* come within their *Town*: for if they had received only five hundred *Men*, as that small number would not have been able to have oppressed their Liberties, so it would have so secured the *Town*, that the *French* could not have besieged it, without making War on the *Empire*: but the *Town* thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay a *Garrison* of three thousand *Souldiers*, which as it exhausted their revenue, and brought them under great *Taxes*, so it proved too weak for their defence when the *French Army* came before them. The *Town* begins to sink in its *Trade*, notwithstanding the great circulation of *Money* that the expence of the *Fortifications* hath brought to it: but when that is at an end, it will sink more sensibly; for it is impossible for a *Place* of *Trade*, that is to have always eight or ten thousand *Souldiers* in it, to continue long in a flourishing State. There was a great Animosity between two of the chief *Families* of the *Town*, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*; the former was the *Burgomaster*, and was once almost run down by a Faction that the other had raised against him: but he turned the tide, and got such an advantage against *Obrecht*, who

had

had writ somewhat against the Conduct of their Affairs. that he was condemned and beheaded for writing *Libels* against the Government. His Son is a learned Man, and was *Professor* of the Civil Law: and he to have his turn of revenge against *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* last Summer, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick* had been always looked on as one of the chief of the *French Faction*, tho he had been at first an *Imperialist*, so it was thought, that he should have been well rewarded; yet it was expected, that to make himself capable of that, he should have changed his Religion; but he was an Ancient Man, and would not purchase his Court at that rate: so without any reason given, and against the express words of the *Capitulation*, he was confined to one of the midland *Provinces* of *France*, as I remember, it was *Limosin*; and thus he, that hath been thought the chief Cause of this *Town's* falling under the Power of the *French*, is the first Man that hath felt the Effects of it. The *Library* here is considerable; The Case is a great Room, very well contrived; for it is divided into *Closets* all over the Body of the Room, which runs about these as a *Gallery*, and in these *Closets* all round there are the *Books* of the several Professions lodged a part: There is one for *Manuscripts*, in which there are some of considerable *Antiquity*. I need say nothing to you of the vast height, and the *Gothick Architecture* of the *Steeple* and of the great *Church*, nor of the curious

ous Clock, where there is so vast a variety of
 tions; for these are well known. The
 Reliefs upon the Tops of the great Pillars
 of the Church are not so visible, but they are
 surprising; for this being a Fabrick of three or four
 hundred years old, it is very strange to see such
 Representations as are there. There is a Pro-
 cession represented, in which a Hog carrieth the
 Pot with the Holy Water, and Asses and Hogs in
 Priestly Vestments follow to make up the Procession;
 there is also an Ass standing before an Altar,
 as if he were going to Consecrate, and one car-
 rieth a Case with Reliques, within which one sees
 a Fox; and the Trains of all that go in this Pro-
 cession, are carried up by Monks. This seem-
 to have been made in hatred of the Monks, whom
 the Secular Clergy abhorred at that time, because
 they had drawn the Wealth, and the following
 of the World after them, and they had exposed
 the Secular Clergy, so much for their ignorance,
 that it is probable after some Ages, the Monks suf-
 fering under the same contempt, the Secular Clergy
 took their turn in exposing them in so lasting a
 Representation to the Scorn of the World. There
 is also in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood, lying
 along, and a Fryer lying near her with his Bre-
 viary open before him, and his hand under the
 Nuns habit, and the Nuns Feet are shod with
 Iron Shoes. I confess, I did not look for these
 things; for I had not heard of them; but my
 Noble Friend Mr. Ablancourt viewed them with

great

great exactness, while he was the *French Kings* Resident at *Strasburgh*, in the company of one of the *Magistrates* that waited on him; and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this particular.

From *Strasburgh* we went down the *Rhine* to *Philipsburgh*, which lieth at a quarter of a Miles distance from the *River*; it is but a small place, the *Bastions* are but little: there is a *Ravelin* before almost all the *Curtines*, and there lye such *Marshes* all round it, that in these lyeth the chief strength of the place. The *French* had begun a great *Crown-work* on the side that lieth to the *Rhine*, and had cast out a *Horn-work* beyond that; but by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue that *Crown-work* quite round the *Town*, and to make a second *Wall* and *Ditch* all round it; which would have enlarged the place vastly, and made a compass capable enough to lodge above ten thousand Men: and this would have been so terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate*, and all *Franconia*, that it was a Master-piece in *Charles Lewis*, the late *Electo Palatine*, to ingage the *Empire* into this *Siege*. He saw well, how much it concerned him to have it out of the hands of the *French*, so that he took great care to have the *Duke of Lorrain's Camp* so well supplied with all things necessary, during the *Siege*, that the *Army* lay not under the least uneasiness all the while. From thence in three hours

hours time we came to *Spire*, which is so remarkable a Town, that if it were attacked, it could not make the least resistance. The Town is neither great nor rich, and subsisted chiefly by the *Imperial Chamber* that sitteth here, though there is a constant dispute between the Town and the Chamber concerning *Priviledges*; for the Government of the Town, pretends that the *Judges* of the Chamber, they are private Men, and out of the Court of *Judicature*, are subject to them; and so about a year ago they put one of the *Judges* in Prison; on the other hand, the *Judges* pretend, that these Persons are sacred. It was the consideration of the Chamber that procured to the Town the *Neutrality* that they enjoyed all the last War. I thought to have seen the forms of this Court, and the way of laying up, and preserving their *Records*, but the Court was not then sitting. The Building, the Halls and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond imagination, and look liker the Halls of some small Company, than of so great a Body; and I could not see the places where they lay up their *Archieves*; The Government of the City is all *Lutheran*; but not only the *Cathedral* is in the hands of the *Bishop* and *Chapter*, but there are likewise several *Convents* of both Sexes; and the *Jesuites* have also a College there. There is little remarkable in the *Cathedral*, which is a huge building in the *Gothick* manner, of the worst sort. The Tombs of many Emperors, that lye buried there, are remarkable

markable for their meanness; they being only great *Flag-stones* layed on some small *Stone-ballisters* of a foot and a half high: There are also the marks of a ridiculous *Fable* concerning *St. Bernard*, which is too foolish to be related, yet since they have taken such pains to preserve the remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are from the *Gate* all along the *Nave* of the *Church* up to the *Steps* that go up to the *Quire*, four round *Plates* of *Brass*, above a foot *Diameter*, and at the distance of thirty foot one from another, laid in the pavement; on the first of these is ingraven, *O Clemens*; on the second, *O Pia*; on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*: The last is about thirty foot distant from a *Statue* of the *Virgins*: so they say that *St. Bernard* came up the whole length of the *Church* at *Four Steps*, and that those *four Plates* were laid where he stepped: and that at every *Step* he pronounced the word that is ingraven on the *Plate*; and when he came to the last, the *Image* of the *Virgin* answered him, *Salve Bernarde*, upon which he answered, *Let a Woman keep silence in the Church*; and that the *Virgins Statue* has kept silence ever since: This last part of the *Story* is certainly very credible. He was a *Man of Learning* that shewed me this; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least that he had a mind to make me believe it: and I asked him as gravely, if that was firmly believed there; he told

told me, that one had lately writ a *Book* to prove the truth of it, as I remember, it was a *John*. He acknowledged, it was not an *Article of Faith*, so I was satisfied. There is in the *Cloister* an old *Gothick* Representation of our *Saviours Agony* in stone, with a great many *Figures* of his *Apostles*, and the *Company* that came to seize him, that is not ill *Sculpture*, for the Age in which it was made, it being some Ages old. The *Calvinists* have a *Church* in this *Town*, but their numbers are not considerable: I was told there were some ancient *Manuscripts* in the *Library*, that belongeth to the *Cathedral*: but one of the *Prebendaries*, to whom I addressed my self, being according to the *German Custom*, a Man of greater *Quality* than *Learning*, told me, he heard they had some ancient *Manuscripts*, but he knew nothing of it; and the *Dean* was absent, so I could not see them; for he kept one of the *Keys*. The *lower Palatinate* is certainly one of the sweetest *Countries* of all *Germany*. It is a great *Plain* till one cometh to the *Hills* of *Hidelsberg*: the *Town* is all scituated, just in a bottom, between two ranges of *Hills*, yet the *Air* is much commended: I need say nothing of the *Castle*, nor the prodigious *Wine-Cellar*, in which, though there is but one celebrated *Tun*, that is seventeen foot high, and twenty six foot long, and is built with a strength liker that of the *Ribs* of a *Ship*, than the *Staves* of a *Tun*; yet there are many other *Tuns* of such a prodigious

gious bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary, if this vast one did not Eclipse them. The late Prince Charles Lewis shewed his capacity in the peopling and settling this State, that had been so intirely ruined, being for many Years the Seat of War; for in four years time he brought it to a Flourishing condition: He raised the Taxes as high as was possible without dispeopling his Country, all mens Estates were valued, and they were taxed at five per cent. of the value of their Estates; but their Estates were not valued to the rigour, but with such abatements as have been ordinary in England in the times of Subsidies; so that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to two per Cent of the real value, the Subjects all desired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany that is more absolute than the Elector Palatine; for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth, without being limited to any forms of Government. And here I saw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of Germany are only bound to their particular Prince; for they swear Allegiance singly to the Elector, without any reserve for the Emperour; and in their Prayers for him, they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the Prince is under some ties to the Emperour; but the Subjects are under none. And by this D. Fabricius, a learned and judicious Professor there, explained those words of Parius's Commentary on the Romans, which had respect only

to the *Princes* of the *Empire* : and were quite understood by those who fancied that they favoured *Rebellion* ; for there is no place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born than there. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with relation to those small *Controversies* that have occasioned such heat in the *Protestant Churches*, reigning in the *University* there, which is in a great measure owing to the Prudence, Learning, and the happy Temper of Mind of *Fabritius*, and *D. Mick* ; who as they were long in *England*, so they have that generous largeness of Soul, which is the Noble Ornament of many of the *English Divines*. Prince *Charles Lewis* saw that *Mannheim* was marked out by Nature to be the most important place of all his Territory, it being situated in the point where the Necke falleth into the *Rhine* ; so that those two Rivers defending it on two sides, it was capable of a good Fortification : It is true, the Air is not thought wholesome ; and the Water is not good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a Noble Citadel, with a regular Fortification about it ; and he designed a great Palace there, but he did not live to build it. He saw of what advantage Liberty of Conscience was to the people of his Country ; so as he suffered the *Jews* to come and settle there, he resolved also not only to suffer the three Religions, tolerated by the Law of the *Empire*, to be professed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called

the Church of the Concord, in which both Calvinists, Lutherans and Papists had, in the order in which I have set them down, the exercise of their Religion; and he maintained the peace of his Principality so intirely, that there was not the least Disorder occasioned by this Tolleration: This indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himself: He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief Minister, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were Injust if I should not say somewhat to you, of the Princely Vertues and the Celebrated Probity of the present Pr. Elector, upon whom that Dignity is devoiv'd by the extinction of so many Princes; that in this Age compos'd the most numerous Family of any of that rank in Europe. This Prince, as he is in many respects an honour to the Religion that he professes, so is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promises he made his Subjects with relation to their Religion, in which he has not (even in the smallest matters) broke in upon their established Laws; and though an Order of Men, that have turned the World up-side down, have great credit with him, yet it is hitherto visible, that they cannot carry it so far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the established Religion; and so those sacred Promises that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World,

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that

that he does not consider those, as so many were spoken at first to lay his People asleep, which he may now explain and observe as he thinks fit; but as many Ties upon his Conscience and Honour, which he will Religiously observe. And as in the other parts of his Life, he has set a Noble Pattern to all the Princes of Europe, so his exactness to his Promises, is that which cannot be too much commended: of which this extraordinary Instance has been communicated to me since I am come into this Country. The Elector had a Procession in his Court last Corpus Christi day, upon which one of the Ministers of Heidelberg preach't a very severe Sermon against Popery, and in particular taxed that Procession perhaps with greater plainness than discretion: This being brought to the Electors Ears, he sent presently an Order to the Ecclesiastical Senate to suspend him. That Court is compos'd of some Secular Men and some Churchmen, and as the Princes Authority is delegated to them, so they have a sort of an Episcopal jurisdiction over all the Clergy: This Order was a surprise to them, as being a direct breach upon their Laws and the liberty of their Religion: so they sent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the reasons that hinder'd them from obeying his Orders, which were heard with so much Justice and Gentleness, that the Prince, instead of expressing any Displeasure against them, recalled the Order that he had sent them. The way from Heidelberg to Frankfurt, is, for the first

first twelve or fifteen *Miles*, the beautifullest piece of ground that can be imagined; for we went under a ridge of little *Hills* that are all covered with *Pines*, and from them, as far as the eye can go, there is a beautiful *Plain* of Corn-fields and Meadows, all sweetly divided and inclosed with rows of *Trees*, so that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this advantage, that here all was not of a piece, as it is in *Lombardy*; but the *Hills*, as they made a pleasant inequality in the prospect, so they made the *Air* purer, and produced a pleasant *Wine*: The way near *Darmstadt*, and all forwards to *Frankfort*, becometh more wild and more sandy: There is a good *Suburb* on the South-side of the *Main* over against *Frankfort*, which hath a very considerable *Fortification*; there is a double *Wall*, and a double *Ditch*, that goeth round it; and the outward *Wall*, as it is regularly *fortified*, so it is faced with *Brick* to a considerable height. The *Town* of *Frankfort* is of a great extent, and seemed to be but about a third part less than *Strasbourg*: The three *Religions* are also tolerated there; and though the number of the *Papists* is very inconsiderable, yet they have the great *Church*, which is a huge rude building; they have also several other *Churches*, and some *Convents* there. There are several open *Squares* for *Market* places, and the *Houses* about them look very well without. Among their *Archives* they preserve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which

is only a great *Parohment* writ in *High Dutch* without any beauty answering to its Title; and since I could not have understood it, I was not at the pains of desiring to see it; for that is not obtained without difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new *Church*, called *St. Catharines*, in which there is as much *Painting* as ever I saw in any *Popish Church*; and over the high *Altar* there is a huge carved *Crucifix*, as there are *Painted ones* in other places of their *Church*. The *Pulpit* is extream fine, of *Marble* of different colours, very well polished and joyned. I was here at *Sermon*, where I understood nothing; but I liked one thing that I saw both at *Strasbourg* and *here*, that at the end of *Prayers*, there was a considerable interval of silence left, before the conclusion, for all Peoples private Devotions. In the *House* of their *publick Discipline*, they retain still the old *Roman Pistrina* or *Hand-mill*; at which *lewd Women* are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the *Wheel* that maketh the *Milstones* go. There is a great number of *Jews* there, though their two *Synagogues* are very little, and by consequence, the *Numbers* being great, they are very nasty. I was told, they were in all above *twelve hundred*. The *Women* had the most of a tawdry *Imbroidery* of *Gold* and *Silver* about them that ever I saw; for they had all *Mantles* of *Crape*, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a border above a hand breadth of *Imbrodery*. The *Fortifica-*

tion of *Frankfort* is considerable; their *Ditch* is very broad, and very full of *Water*; all the *Bastions* have a *Countermine*, that runneth along by the brim of the *Ditch*; but the *Counterscarp* is not faced with *Brick* as the *Walls* are, and so in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered *Way* and *Glacy* are also in an ill case: The *Town* is rich, and driveth a great *Trade*, and is very pleasantly scituated. Not far from hence is *Hockam*, that yieldeth the best *Wine* of those parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my way from *Heidelbergh* to *Mentz*, I could not pass by *Worms*, for which I was sorry. I had a great mind to see that place where *Luther* made his first appearance before the *Emperor*, and the *Diet*, and in that solemn *Audience* expressed an undaunted Zeal for that *Glorious Cause* in which God made him such a blessed *Instrument*. I had another piece of Curiosity on me, which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to see a *Picture*, that as I was told, is over one of the *Papish Altars* there, which one would think was Invented by the Enemies of *Transubstantiation* to make it appear ridiculous. There is a *Windmill*, and the *Virgin* throws *Christ* into the *Hopper*, and he comes out at the *Eye* of the *Mill* all in *Wafers*, which some *Priests* take up to give to the *People*. This is so coarse an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for *Laplanders*; but a Man that can swallow *Transubstantiation* it self, will digest this likewise. *Mentz* is very

nobly situated, on a rising ground, a little below the conjunction of the two Rivers, the Rhine and the Main; it is of too great a compass, and too ill peopled to be capable of a great defence: there is a *Citadel* upon the highest part of the Hill that commandeth the Town; it is compassed about with a dry *Ditch*, that is considerably deep. The *Walls* of the Town are faced with *Brick*, and regularly fortified, but the *Counterscarp* is not faced with *Brick*, so all is in a sad condition; and the *Fortification* is weakest on that side where the *Electors Palace* is. There is one side of a new *Palace* very nobly built in a regular *Architecture*, only the *Germans* do still retain somewhat of the *Gothick* manner; It is of a great length, and the design is to build quite round the *Court*, and then it will be a very magnificent *Palace*, only the *Stone* is red; for all the *Quarries* that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Basil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red stone, which doth not look beautiful. The *Elector of Mentz* is an absolute *Prince*; his *Subjects* present *Lists* of their *Magistrates* to him, but he is not tied to them and may name whom he will: The Ancient *Demeasn* of the *Electoral* is about forty thousand *Crowns*: but the *Taxes* rise to above three hundred thousand *Crowns*; so that the *Subjects* here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*: There is twelve thousand *Crown* a year given the *Elector* for his privy Purse, and the *State* bears the rest of his whole expence: It can Arm ten thousand Men, and there is a

Garrison

Garrison of two thousand Men in *Mentz*: the *Elect* hath three *Councils*, one as he is *Chancellor* of the *Empire*, consisting of three persons: The other two are for the *Policy* and *Justice* of his *Principality*. He, and his *Chapter* have *Months* by turns for the *Nomination* of the *Prebends*. In the Month of *January* he names if any dyes, and they chuse in the Room of such as dye in *February*, and so all the year round. The *Prebendaries* or *Dome-Heers* have about three thousand *Crowns* a year a piece. When the *Elect* dieth, the *Emperour* sendeth one to see the *Election* made, and he recommendeth one, but the *Canons* may chuse whom they please; and the present *Elect* was not of the *Emperors* Recommendation. Besides the *Palace* at *Mentz*, the *Elect* hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the best that is in those parts of *Germany*: The *Cathedral* is a huge *Gothick* Building; there is a great *Cupulo* in the *West-end*, and there the *Quire* singeth *Mass*: I could not learn whether this was done only because the place here was of greater reception than at the *East-end*, or if any burying place and indowment obliged them to the *West-end*. Near the *Cathedral* there is a huge *Chappel* of great *Antiquity*, and on the *North Door* there are two great *Brass* Gates with a long *Inscription*, which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the *Emperour Lotharius's* time. There are a vast number of *Churches* in this *Town*, but it is poor and ill inhabited. The *Rhine* here is

almost half an *English* Mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats lay'd over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Baccharach* (which seems to carry it's name [*Bacchi Ara*] from some famous *Altar* that the *Romans* probably erected by reason of the good *Wine* that grows in the Neighbourhood.) There is a great number of very considerable *Villages* on both sides of the *River*: Here the *Rats Tower* is shewed, and the *People* of the *Country* do all firmly believe the *Story* of the *Rats* eating up an *Elector*, and that though he fled to this *Island*, where he built a small high *Tower*, they pursued him still, and swimm'd after him, and eat him up: and they told us, that there were some of his *Bones* to be seen still in the *Tower*. This extraordinary death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of *Death*, that carried off a poor *Labourer* of the ground a few days before I left *Geneva*. The *Foot* of one of his *Cattel*, as he was ploughing, went into a *Nest* of *Wasps*, upon which the whole *Swarm* came out, and set upon him that held the *Plow*, and killed him in a very little time; and his *Body* was prodigiously swelled with the *Poyson* of so many *Stings*. But to return to the *Rhine*; all the way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both sides of the *River* hanging *Grounds*, or little *Hills*, so laid, as if many of them had been laid by *Art*, which produce the rich *Rhenish Wine*. They are indeed as well exposed to the *Sun*, and covered from *Storms*, as can be imagined: and
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the Ground on those *Hills*, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated, that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much Wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great number of considerable *Villages*. *Coblentz* is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the *Empire*; the situation is Noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moselle* passing along the side of the *Town*; it is well fortified, the *Ditch* is large, the *Counterscarp* is high, and the covered *Way* is in a good Condition; both *Walls* and *Counterscarp* are faced with *Brick*, and there are *Ravelines* before the *Curtines*; but on the side of the *Moselle* it is very slightly fortified, and there is no *Fort* at the end of the *Stone Bridge* that is laid over the *Moselle*, so that it lieth quite open on that side, which seemeth a strange defect in a place of that consequence: But though the *Fortifications* of this place are very considerable, yet its chief defence lieth in the *Fort* of *Hermanstan*, which is built on the top of a very high *Hill*, that lyeth on the other side of the *Rhine*; and which commandeth this place so absolutely, that he who is Master of *Hermanstan*, is always Master of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the *Electör* of *Triers*, whose *Palace* lyeth on the East-side of the *Rhine*, just at the Foot of the Hill of *Hermanstan*, and over against the point where the *Moselle* falleth into the *Rhine*, so that nothing can be more pleasantly situated; only the ground begins to

rise just at the back of the House with so much steepness, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The House maketh a great shew upon the River, but we were told, that the Apartments within were not answerable to the outside. I say, we were told; for the German Princes keep such forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unless it be when they are abroad themselves; so that we never got within the Palace at Mentz, nor this of *Hermanstan*. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonna*, where the *Elector of Collen* keepeth his Court: The Place hath a regular Fortification; the Walls are faced with Brick; but though the Dutch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counter-scarp is in so ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This *Elector* is the Noblest born, and the best provided of all the German Clergy; for he is Brother to the Great *Maximilian Duke of Bavaria*; and besides *Collen*, he hath *Liege*, *Munster*, and *Hildelsheim*, which are all great *Bishopricks*: He hath been also six and thirty years in the *Electorate*: His Palace is very mean, consisting but of one Court; the half of which is cast into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court; the lower part of the Court was a Stable: but he hath made an Apartment here, that is all furnished with Pictures; where, as there are some of the hands of the greatest Masters, so there are a great many foils to set these off, that are scarce good enough for Signposts.

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The *Elector* has a great many Gold Medals, which will give me occasion to tell you one of the Extravagantest pieces of Forgery that perhaps ever was; which hapned to be found out at the last Siege of *Bonne*: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a *Battery*, they discovered a *Vault*, in which there was an *Iron-Chest* that was full of *Medals of Gold* to the value of 100000 *Crowns*; and of which I was told the *Elector* bought to the value of 30000 *Crowns*. They are huge big, one weighed 800. *Ducats*, and the *Gold* was of the fineness of *Ducat Gold*: but though they bore the Impressions of *Roman Medals*, or rather *Medallions*, they were all *Counterfeit*; and the imitation was so coarsely done, that one must be extream Ignorant in *Medals* to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true, were of the late *Greeks Emperors*. Now it is very unaccountable, what could induce a Man to make a Forgery upon such *Mettle*, and in so vast a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, especially in an Age in which so much *Gold* was ten times the value of what it is at present; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred years ago.

The *Prince* went out a Hunting while we were there, with a very handsome *Guard* of about fourscore *Horse*, well mounted; so we saw the *Palace*; but were not suffered to see the *Apartments* where he lodged: There is a great *Silver Caseletto* gilt, all set with *Emeralds* and *Rubies*, that though they

they made a fine appearance, yet were a Composition of the *Princes* own making: His Officers also shewed us a *Bason* and *Ewer*, which they said were of *Mercury* fixed by the *Prince* himself; but they added, that now for many years he wrought no more in his *Laboratory*. I did not easily believe this, and as the weight of the *Plate* did not approach to that of *Quick Silver*, so the Medicinal Vertue of fixed *Mercury* (if there is any such thing) are so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty pound of it made up in two pieces of *Plate*. A quarter of a mile without the *Town*, the best *Garden* of those parts of *Germany* is to be seen, in which there is a great variety of *Water-works*, and very many Noble *Allies* in the *French* manner, and the whole is of a very considerable extent; but as it hath no *Statues* of any value to adorn it, so the House about which it lyeth, is in *Ruins*: and it is strange to see, that so rich and so great a *Prince*, during so long a *Regency*, hath done so little to enlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblentz* are both poor and small Towns. *Colen* is three hours distant from *Bonne*, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worse peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the *Walls* are all in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortify so vast a compass as this *Town* maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The *Jews* live in a little *Suburb* on the other side of the *River*,
and

and may not come over, without leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no Exercise of the *Protestant Religion* suffered within the *Town*, but those of the *Religion* are suffered to live there, and they have a *Church* at two miles distance. The *Arsenal* here, is suitable to the *Fortifications*, very mean, and ill furnished. The *Quire* of the *Great Church* is as high in the roof, as any *Church* I ever saw; but it seemeth the *Wealth* of this place could not finish the whole *Fabrick*, so as to answer the height of the *Quire*; for the *Body* of the *Church* is very low: Those that are disposed to believe *Legends*, have enough here to overset even a good degree of *Credulity*, both in the *Story* of the *Three Kings*, whose *Chapel* is visited with great *Devotion*, and standeth at the *East end* of the *Great Quire*; and in that more copious *Fable* of the eleven thousand *Virgins*, whose *Church* is all over full of rough *Tombs*, and of a vast number of *Bones*, that are piled up in rows about the *Walls* of the *Church*: These *Fables* are so firmly believed by the *Papists* there, that the least sign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible *Mark* of an *Heretick*. The *Jesuites* have a great and *Noble Colledge* and *Church* here. And for *Thauler's* sake I went to the *Dominicans House* and *Church*, which is also very great. One grows extream weary of walking over this great *Town*, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The present Subject of their Discourse

course is also very melancholy: the late *Rebellion* that was there, is so generally known, that need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the *Town*, by some *Incendaries*, that the *Magistrates* did eat up the *publick Revenue*, and were like to ruin the *City*; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports; for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly through a body of Men, without some Foundation: it is certain, this came to be so generally believed that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it; The *Magistrates* were glad to save themselves from the Storm, and Abandoned the *Town* to the popular Fury, some of them having been made Sacrifices to it; and this Rage held long: But within this last year, after near two. years disorder, those that were sent by the *Emperor* and *Diet* to judge the matter, having threatned to put the *Town* under the *Imperial Bann*, if it had stood longer out, were received; and have put the *Magistrates* again in the possession of their Authority, and all the Chief *Incendaries* were clapt in *Prison*: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in *Prison*: they told us, that some Executions were to be made within a week when we were there. *Dusseldorp* is the first considerable *Town* below *Collen*, it is the Seat of the *Duke of Juliers*, who is *Duke of Newburgh*, Eldest Son to the present *Electo Palatine*. The *Palace* is old and *Gothick* enough: but the *Jesuites* have there a fine *Colledge*, and a noble *Chappel*, though there

there are manifest faults in the *Architecture*: the *Protestant Religion* is Tolerated; and they have a Church built here within these few years, that was procured by the intercession of the *Elector of Brandenburg*, who observing exactly the *Liberty of Religion* that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in favour of his own *Religion*. The *Fortification* here is very ordinary, the *Ramparts* being faced but a few foot high with *Brick*, but *Keiserswart*, some hours lower on the same side, which belongeth to the *Elector of Collen*, though it is a much worse *Town* than *Dusseldorp*, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad *Ditch*, and a very regular *Fortification*: the *Walls* are considerably high, faced with *Brick*, and so is the *Counterescarp*, which is also in a very good Condition. The *Fortification* of *Orsey* is now quite demolished. *Rhinebergh* continueth as it was, but the *Fortification* is very mean, only of *Earth*, so that it is not capable of making a great Resistance. And *Wesel*, though it is a very fine *Town*, yet is a very poor *Fortification*, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast expence: for the ground all about it being sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the Foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Pilory*. In all these *Towns* one sees another Air of Wealth; and Abundance than in much richer *Countries*, that are exhausted with *Taxes*. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good *Towns*, but

but the *Fortifications* are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous *Country*, that hath a present very little Defence, except what it hath from its Scituation. *Cleve* is a delicious Place, the Scituation and Prospect are Charming, and the Air is very pure; and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not say one word of the *Country* into which I am now come; for as I know that is needless to you on many accounts, so a *Picture* that I see here in the *Stadthouse*, puts me in mind of the perfectest *Book* of its kind that is perhaps in being; for *Sir William Temple*, whose *Picture* hangeth here at the upper-end of the *Plenipotentiaries* that negotiated the famous *Treaty of Nimwegen*, hath indeed set a pattern to the World, which is done with such life, that it may justly make others blush to copy after it, since it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other *Places*, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the Noblest parcels of the *Universe*, *Travelling* would become a needless thing, unless it were for diversion: since one findeth no further occasion for his Curiosity in this *Country*, than what is fully satisfied by his rare performance; yet I cannot give over Writing, without reflecting on the Resistance that this *Place* made, when so many other *Places* were so basely delivered up, though one doth not see in the ruins of the *Fortification* here, how it could make so long a resistance; yet

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it was that that stem'd the tide of a progress that made all the World stand amazed; and it gave a little time to the *Dutch* to recover themselves out of the Consternation, into which so many blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a change, that tho' it hath not had so much Incense given to it, as the happy Conjecture of another *Prince* hath drawn after it, with so much excess, that all the Topicks of flattery seem exhausted by it, yet will appear to posterity one of the most surprising Scenes in *History*, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the *Roman State* after the Battle of *Canne*. When a *Young Prince*, that had never before born Arms, or so much as seen a Campaign, who had little or no Council about him, but that which was suggested from his own thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage by his Education, either for Literature or Affairs, was of a sudden set at the Head of a State and Army, that was sunk with so many losses, and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it, and the powerfullest Enemy in the World, surrounded with a Victorious Army, that was Commanded by the best Generals that the Age hath produced, come within sight, and settle his Court in one of its best Towns, and had at the same time the greatest force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its destruction. When the *Inhabitants* were

were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an *Enemy*, to let loose that which on all other occasions, is the most dreadful to them ; and to *drown* so great a part of their Soil, for the preservation of the rest ; and to complicate together all the Miseries that a *Nation* could dread, when to the general consternation, with which so dismal a *Scene* possessed them, a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes ; and while their *Army* was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble *Troops*, after a Peace a Land of almost *thirty Years* continuance ; and while their chief *Ally*, that was the most concerned in their preservation, was, like a great paralytic body, liker to fall on those that it pretended to support, and to crush them, than to give them any considerable assistance : When, I say, a young *Prince* came at the Head of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite damp't an ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the *Scene*, he animated the *Public Councils* with a generous vigour : he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkening to *Propositions* for a *Peace*, that were as little safe as they were honourable ; but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such infamous Terms. His credit also among the *Populace* seemed to inspire them with a new Life; they easily persuaded themselves, that as one *WILLIAM Prince* of *ORANGE* had formed their *State* , so here another of the same

name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of *Courage* which he derived from his own Breast, and infused into the whole People, as well as into the *Magistracy*, that preserved this Country. Something there was in all this that was Divine. The *public Councils* were again seized, and the people were at quiet, when they saw him vested with a full Authority for that time with relation to *Peace* and *War*, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the *Interest* of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all *Propositions* of *Peace* that were hurtful to his Country, without so much as considering the Advantages that were offered to him-
 himself (in which you know that I write upon sure grounds.) He refused the offer of the *Sovereignty* of it's Chief City, that was made to him by a solemn *Deputation*, being satisfied with that Authority which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much glory, and being justly sensible, how much the breaking in upon established *Laws* and *Liberties*, is fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He thus began his publick appearance on the *Stage*, with all the disadvantages that a Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for; since it was Visible; that he had nothing to trust, to, but a good Cause, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: nor was success wanting to such Noble Beginnings; for he in a short time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any
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thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered the *State*, out of so desperate a distemper, took some *Places* by main force, and obliged the *Enemy* to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a manner. And if a raw *Army* had not always success, against more numerous and better-trained *Troops*, and if the want of *Magazines* and *Stores* in their *Allies* Country, which was the chief *Sceme* of the *War*, made that he could not *Post* his *Army*, and wait for favourable *Circumstances*, so that he was sometime forced to run to *Action*, with a haste that his *Necessities* imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings of a *Victory* out of the hands of the *greatest General* of the Age, the facing a great *Monarch* with an *Army* much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an engagement; and in short, the forming the *Dutch Army* to such a pitch, that it became visibly *Superior* to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with *Conquests*; and the continuing the *War*, till the *Prince* that had sacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his *Glory*, was glad to come and treat for a *Peace* in the *Enemies* Country, and in this very place, and to set all *Engines* on work to obtain that, by the *Mediation* of some, and the *Jealousies* of other *Princes*: all these are such *Performances*, that *Posterity* will be disposed to rank them rather among the *Ideas* of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really *Transacted* in so short a time, and in such a manner. And in conclusion, every place that

that belonged to these *States*, and to their *Neigh-*
*bour*s along the *Rhine*, together with a great
 many in *Flanders*, being restored, these *Provinces*
 do now see themselves under his happy *Conduct*,
 reestablished in their former *Peace* and *Security*.
 And though some Scars of such deep Wounds do
 still remain, yet they find themselves considered
 on all hands, as the *Bulwark* of *Christendom*, a-
 gainst the Fears of a *New Monarchy*, and as
 the Preservers of the *Peace* and *Liberty* of
Europe.

Here is a *Harvest*, not for forced *Rhetorick*,
 or false *Eloquence*, but for a severe and sincere
Historian, capable of affording a Work that will
 far exceed all those luscious *Panegyricks* of *Mer-*
cenary Pens: but a small or a counterfeit *Jewel*
 must be set with all possible *Advantages*, when a
 true one of great value needs only to be shewed.
 I cannot end with a *greater Subject*, and I must ac-
 knowledge my self to be so inflamed with this
 hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen
 down to lower matters, so I dare not trust my
 self too long, to the heat that so Noble an *Ob-*
ject inspires, therefore I break off abruptly,

YOURS.

AN

AN APPENDIX,

Containing some Remarks, that have been sent to me by a Person of Quality.

A Person of great Rank, that is of Italian extraction, and that by consequence knows the Country well, having spent much of his time in it, had heard that I was giving the World an Account of the Reflections that I had made on the present State of Italy, and upon that he writ, the following Paper to one of his Friends, to be communicated to me; so I have not the honour of any Commerce with himself. The Observations that he had made, agreed so exactly with my own, that I thought it would be no small Advantage towards the supporting the Credit of those that I had made, to find them confirmed by so extraordinary a Person, whose Character (as those who know him well have assured me) is so undisputed, that if I durst name him, this alone would serve to establish the believ of the most critical parts of my Letters in the minds of all that should read his Paper: but since I cannot adventure on this, without obtaining his Leave, and since he is now at such a distance, that it is not easie to get his Friend to write to him, or to receive an Answer from him time enough, therefore I have added this Memorial faithfully Translated into English. There are two Particulars in which He and I differ, and in so great a Variety of Observations,

rations, that are so Critical, and so much out of the Common road, it will not appear strange, if there should be some disagreement, when he mentions the Tax that the Pope has laid on the Corn; he does not add one thing which I mention, and that is, that the Measure, by which the Pope sells, is by a fifth part less than that by which he buys: The other is more considerable; for in the Account that he gives of the present Pope's breaking in upon the settlement of the Bank, though it is upon the matter very near the same with that which I give, yet there is a difference of some Importance as to the manner of doing it; but as to that, all I can say, is, that the first Account I had of that Transaction, was the same that is in this Gentlemen's Paper; but afterwards I had occasion to talk of this matter very Copiously with one, that has lived many years in the Popes Dominions, and that has dealt much in these Affairs; he has now a Character upon him, and so it is not expedient to name him: It was from him that I had the particular recital of this matter, and therefore I thought it safer to go upon the Information that I had from him, than upon the general Report that all Strangers may find at Rome. This Paper had been more copious, if the Person that writ it, had not been restrained by some particular Considerations from saying any thing relating to the Government of Venice.

REMARKS

Upon SWITZERLAND.

IT is very surprising when one comes out of *France*, (which is an Extraordinary good Country) into *Switzerland*, which is not near so fertile, and yet to see so great a difference between the *People* of those two Countries. The *People* in *France*, and especially the *Peasants*, are very poor, and most of them reduced to great Misery and Want. The *People* in *Switzerland* cannot be said to be very Rich; but yet there are very few, even amongst the *Peasants* themselves that are miserably poor; the most part of them have enough to live upon, from their Labour, and the Fruits of the Earth. Every where in *France*, even in the best *Citys*, there are Swarms of *Beggars*; and yet scarce any to be seen throughout all *Switzerland*. The Houses of the *Peasants*, or Country-people in *France* are extreamly mean, and in them no other Furniture to be found besides poor nasty Beds, straw Chairs, and Plates and Dishes of Wood and Earth: In *Switzerland* the *Peasants* have their Houses furnished with good Feather-Beds, good Chairs, and other Householdstuff for their Convenience, as well as their Necessity; their Windows are all of Glass, always kept mended and whole, and their Linnen very

very neat and white, and as well for their Bedding as their Tables.

Of the GRISONS *Countrey.*

THE *Grisons* Country is much more Barren than *Switzerland*, because 'tis wholly upon the *Mountains*, which produce nothing at all; yet notwithstanding (all Excess and Luxury being banished from amongst them, and the Inhabitants being extreamly Laborious) there are none to be seen there that are very poor and needy; but they live at Ease, and there are a great many Gentry of good Estates. Their Government is altogether *Popular*; there are but three or four Royalties belonging to Nobility in all the Country. All the rest of their Lands are in Demean, which may yet well be called Royalties too, because exempt from all dues and payments whatsoever. There is nothing at all to be pay'd for bringing into the Country any sort of Goods or Merchandises, or for exporting of them thence; every one there fully enjoys the Fruit of his own Labours, and the Revenues of his Land; although the Wine they drink is brought upon Horses four or five days Journey, yet they have it cheaper there than in most parts of *Italy* or *France*, where it so plentifully grows. There are *Villages* upon the very tops of the *Mountains*, consisting of 150. and 200. Houses a piece; and although they have no Corn or

P

Grain

Grain that grows there, and but very little Grass, yet the *Peasants* keep three or four hundred Horses which they imploy to carry Goods and Merchandises, which turns to so good account that they live very well, and want nothing either for the Necessity or Convenience of life. The *Wines* upon the Mountains are very good; and there is always to be had, besides good Bread and Wine, great quantity of Game and Venison, according to the Season of the Year, good Fruits, very good Chambers, and Beds after the manner of the Country. When you leave the *Grisons* Country, and are come into the Country of *Chavanne* the People begin to speak broken *Italian*: although this latter is a more fertile Country, yet the Inhabitants and *Peasants* do not live so well as in the *Grisons* Country, for that the Natives are more slothful and lazy: and here again there are abundance of poor People, as you will find in all parts of *Italy*.

Of the Bailiage of LUGANE.

Here are on the other side of the Mountains four *Bailiages*, which were formerly part of the *Dutchy of Milan*; *Leoni* NN. when he lost that *Dutchy*, gave these *Bailiages* to some of the *Switz Cantons*. These *Bailiages* are called, *Lugane*, *Lucarno*, *Mendris*, and *Belinsson*: I shall only take notice of the *Bailiage of Lugane*, which contains

contains ninety nine *Villages*: The Territories of this *Bailiage* and of the others, are not near so good as that of *Milan*, to which it joyns; yet the *Villages* of this *Bailiage* are very populous; the Land is very fruitful, because it is well cultivated, and all the Inhabitants live contented and well; There are no *Beggars* amongst them, nor hardly any Object of Misery and Want: Their Houses are all good, well built, and kept in good repair. The Territory of *Milan* is certainly one of the best in all *Italy*; it produceth Wine, Corn and Oyl in abundance, very great quantity of Silk, and (generally speaking) all sorts of Fruits; there is also excellent Pasture for Cattle, and yet the *Peasants* there do not live so well by much as in the *Bailiage* of *Lugane*; for there is a great deal of Land that lyes unmanur'd, and the Country is not near so populous as in *Lugane*. There can be no other Reason given for this Difference but that *Milan* is under the Dominion of *Spain*: That the *People* are loaden with Imposts, Subsidies and Taxes, which makes them very poor; whereas the *People* of *Lugane* are under the Government of *Switzerland*, who put no Taxes or Subsidies upon them.

Remarks upon the LAKES.

I Do not know that in the Kingdom of *France*, as it was thirty years since, there were any *Lakes*, except perhaps in the Mountains of *Dauphiné*.

phind. From the *Lake of Four* to the *Lake of Garde*, which is at *Desenesan*, between *Bresse* and *Veronne*, in the Territories of *Venice*, there are a great number of *Lakes*; one of the most considerable is that of *Geneva*; then there is the *Lake of Newchattel*, the *Lake d'Yverdun*, the *Lake of Morat*, the *Lake of Biemme*, the *Lake of Quinti*, the *Lake of Lucerne*, the *Lake of Constance*, the *Lake of Valestat*, and many others in the Mountains of *Switzerland*. There is on the other side the Mountains a great and considerable *Lake*, called *Come*, also the *Lake of Lugane*, the *Lake Major*, which is above 60 miles long, and likewise the *Lake de Garde*. All these *Lakes* are replenish'd with most excellent Fish, and particularly *Trouts*; but in the *Lake de Garde* there is found an admirable Fish, called *Carpion*, which is far more delicate than either *Trout* or *Salmon*, but they are not so great; for those of the largest size do not weigh above fifteen Pounds. I do not think that in any part of *Europe* there are so many fine *Lakes* to be found in so narrow a Compass, as those which I have here mentioned.

Concerning the Dutchy of FERRARA.

THE Duke of Ferrara hath always been but a little Prince, because his Dominions are not very great; yet there have been several of the said Dukes for above 150. years ago, and since,

since, that have made a handsome Figure, and held a considerable Rank amongst the *Princes of Italy*. The Country was formerly very populous, and the Lands being fertile, and well cultivated: The Revenue of the *Prince* were considerable, and he kept a good Court. But since that *Dutchy* is devolved upon the *See of Rome*, by the Death of the last *Duke*, who dyed without Issue Male, the Country is almost depopulated: the most part of the Lands are desolate; and for several Years last past the *Dutchy* is infected with Diseases, purely for want of Inhabitants. There were formerly in the Time of the *Dukes of Ferrara*, more than one hundred thousand People, and at present there are not 15000. The Grass grows in the Streets, and most of the Houses are void.

Polesina is one of the best parts of *Italy*; and that part of it which is possessed by the *Venetians*, is very well cultivated and populous; and 'tis one of the best of their small Provinces. As soon as you pass the great Arm of the River *Po*, which is called the *Lagoscouro*, which seperates that part of the *Polesina* which belongs to the *Venetians*, from that which belongs to the *Pope*, although the Land and Country is the very same, yet the most part of those Lands of the *Polesina*, which belongs to the *Ecclesiastical State*, are desolate and wast: The Grass lyes withered and rotten upon the ground, because there is no body takes care to mow it; and in passing through great Villages.

lages, you'll find all the Houses abandon'd, and not one Inhabitant to be found. It is not easily to be imagined how it is possible, that a Country so populous and flourishing, should in less than 80. years be so entirely ruined and dispeopled: by this it is very apparent, that no Subjects are so unhappy, as those that live under the Domination of the Clergy.

Concerning the Estates of BOLOGNIA.

IF the Popes had been able to have made themselves masters of *Bologna*, as they have done of *Ferrara*, they would thereby have reduced it to the same miserable condition; but *Bologna* hath always preserved their Priviledges and the Civil Government, by means of the *Gonfaloniers*, under whom they are governed; they have the right of sending *Embassadors* to the Pope, who enjoy the same Prerogatives as do the *Embassadors* of the other free *Princes* and *States*: The Pope cannot confiscate the Goods of any Subjects of *Bologna* for any Crime whatsoever. The great Mischiefs which too frequently happen here, more than in other parts, are *Assassinations* and *Murders*; those that commit them fly for shelter to some of the Churches, as to an inviolable *Asylum*, from whence the *Legates* themselves cannot bring them to be punished, or perhaps they retire into the Country, into some Strong hold, or into the Territories of a Neighbouring

Prince,

Prince, where they are certainly secure, and there remain until the *Legation* of the then *Cardinal* be finished, and afterwards make an agreement with the Successor, who for Money pardons them (having Power so to do) all the Crimes and Murthers they have committed: In other respects the People of *Bologna* are very happy, and live in great plenty, for that the Country is mighty fruitful; and they pay no Taxes to the *Prince*.

Remarks upon the Country of the Great Duke of
T U S C A N Y.

There are in this Great Dukedom three considerable Cities, *Florence*, *Pisa* and *Sienna*. All those who have read the *History* of *Italy*, do know, that *Pisa* was formerly a very powerful Commonwealth, that it flourished in Trade and Commerce, and that there were a great many wealthy Citizens belonging to it; there needs no other proof of this, than what we read, that upon a certain occasion a hundred of the Citizens equip'd each of them a *Gally* at their own Charges, which they maintained during all the War. The great Actions are well known which they have done in the *Levant* by their Fleets, and how they along time opposed the *Duke* of *Florence*, who at length subdued them by the Assistance of the *Spanish* Arms.

Pisa is one of the largest and most beautiful Cities of *Italy*; the Buildings are stately and fine; and so is one of their Churches, which with its Dependencies is one of the finest in all *Italy*. The City is built upon the River of *Arne*, which divides it in the midst; it is navigable for Vessels of a great burthen; and at *Legorne*, which is twelve Miles distance, it falls into the Sea. It is one of the best situated Towns in all *Italy* for Trade, with which it flourished extreamly whilst it was a *Republick*: at present not only the City, but the Country belonging to it, is wholly depopulated. Writers say, that there were formerly above one hundred and fifty Thousand Inhabitants, whereas now there are not twelve thousand. The Grass grows in most of the Places and Streets of the City, and most of the Houses are deserted, and lye void. I was myself in a fair large Pallace, which was let for six Pistoles *per annum*; the greatest part of their Lands lye wast, and the Air is very unhealthy in most parts, because of the small number of Inhabitants. The Duke of Florence thought there was no way to secure himself of this great City, but by depopulating of it, and ruining the Trade, which rendred it so potent, so that at present there is not any Trade there at all.

The City of *Sienna* was also formerly a very fine Commonwealth, and had in it many noble, rich, and powerful Families; but since that the Duke of Florence hath reduced it to his Obedience,

he

he hath ruined most of the Nobility and Gentry, many of them retiring into *France*, and into the Territories of some of the *Princes of Italy*.

As to the City of *Florence* it self, it is extreamly decayed to what it was since it came under the Government of the House of *Medici*. It is plain from the History of *Machiavil*, and other *Italian* Authors that lived in those times, that it was three times more populous when it was a *Republick*, than it is now. The *Great Duke* keeping his Court and residence there, one would think should make the *City* flourish the more; yet it wants a great deal of that Luster and Splendor it had when it was a *Commonwealth*.

Remarks upon the Temporal Government
of the P O P E.

THere are certainly very few *People* so miserable, as those who live under the Dominion of the *Pope*: most of the *States of Italy*, and where there are the most Subsidies and Impositions, have not put any tax upon *Corn* and *Grain* which make *Bread*, because there is no person, though never so miserable, that can subsist without it; there is that humanity and regard had to the *People*, in not laying *Taxes* upon *Bread*, because 'tis the common Nourishment and absolutely necessary even for the most Indigent and Poor; though Impositions are laid without scruple upon *Wine* and other Merchandises, because

cause they are not so necessary as *Bread*: yet the *Pope* makes no scruple to lay very great Impositions upon *Corn* and *Bread* throughout all the *Dominions*, except in those places that have preserved their Liberties. It was *Donna Olimpia*, that during the Pontificat of *Innocent* the X. began to put Taxes and Imposts upon *Corn*, and made such *Laws* which have ruined the most part of the great Nobility and Gentry, that live under the *Ecclesiastical Government*, who had their revenues consisting in *Corn*. All the *Popes* who have reigned since *Innocents* time, have found such a great Advantage to themselves by these *Laws* of *Donna Olimpia*, that they have continued them ever since; and it is at present a very Considerable part of the *Ecclesiastical Revenue*. The substance of which said *Law* or Ordinance is this, That no person whatsoever is suffered to sell *Corn* to any Strangers; but all those that have any, are obliged to sell it at a price certain to the *Ecclesiastical Chamber*; which is not at the most above one moiety of the real Value; and then the *Ecclesiastical Chamber* sells it again at double the price. In *Italy* there is no person, either in City or Country, in the *Pops Dominions*, who is permitted to make their own *Bread*, but every one is obliged to buy it of the *Bakers*, who are appointed by the *Chamber*; in each *Village* and *Borough* there is but one *Baker* Established by the *Chamber* to make and sell *Bread*; the *Baker* is obliged to take the *Corn* of the *Chamber* at a

certain

certain price, and to make the *Bread* of such a quantity and weight, and to sell it at a price Certain. In the great Cities, as at *Rome*, there are very many *Bakers*, who are all obliged to buy a certain quantity of *Corn* of the *Ecclesiastical Chamber* for a whole *Year* to come, which they pay for before-hand, and give ten Crowns the *Salme* or measure, when at the same time the *Chamber* bought it of the particular persons for five Crowns; at the beginning of the year, all the *Bakers* are obliged to take the same Quantity of *Corn* for the *Year* ensuing, although sometimes they have a great deal of the last years *Corn* upon their hands, which they must deliver to the *Chamber* for five Crowns the *Salme* or measure, and then the very same *Corn* is sold them again for ten Crowns. I do not believe that there is any Country in the World, that draws more profit from their Subjects for *Corn*, than the *Pope* doth in his *Dominions*, which hath been partly the Cause of the ruin of the *Ecclesiastical Estate*, since the Establishment of the said *Law*, which was about thirty years since: the Country is unpeopled, and great part of the Lands lie void and uncultivated, because it is not worth while to manure them when the greatest advantage and profit, arising thereby, goes to the *Pope*. In travelling through the *Ecclesiastical Territories* in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, there are vast quantities of Land unmanured. A Traveller passing through the Estate of a *Roman*

Prince

Prince, told the Prince upon his return to Naples, he would if he pleased send him Husbandmen that should manure his Lands; thinking that it had been for want of Labourers that the Lands lay void and wast. The Prince told him, that he did not want People to Cultivate his Lands; but because they were obliged to sell all their Corn and Grain to the Chamber at a very Low Price, it would not quit Cost to Manure and Cultivate it.

*Touching the Reduction of the Interest of money
Due by the MONTES. at
Rome from 4. to 3.
per Cent.*

EVery body almost knows what 'tis which in Italy, and especially at Rome, they call the *Montes*; it is much like the Rents upon the Town-house at Paris. The Popes having occasion of money, borrow great sums of particular Persons at 4 per Cent Interest; This they call at Rome the Establishment of the *Monte*, that is, the Creation of certain Officers, and the assignment of several Rents for the payment of those who have lent Money to the Pope. The present Pope, finding the Chamber engaged to the annual payments of I know not how many Millions of Roman Crowns Interest, to those that had lent Money upon the *Monte*, resolved in part to reduce and lessen the great Sum of Money which the Interest amounted to, and having for this

this purpose raised several Millions of *Roman Crowns*, he acquainted those that had mony upon the *Monte*, that they should come and receive their principal Mony, unless they would take 3. per Cent Interest for the 4. per Cent which they formerly received; whereupon there being really no Trade in all the Ecclesiastical Territories, and the Lands worth nothing, and that the Estates of the Nobility were all sold to a penny, all Persons who had Mony upon the *Monte*, not knowing how to Employ it to advantage elsewhere, let it there remain, contenting themselves, with *three per cent* instead of *four per cent*, which they had before. So that by this means every one concerned lost a fourth part of their yearly Income, and the *Chamber* got I know not how many Millions of *Crowns* yearly by this Retrenchment of one per cent.

It is almost incredible the immense Sums the *Pope* hath raised by retrenching of many superfluous Expences, and extinguishing several Offices to which great Salleries were payed by the *Ecclesiastical Chamber*, and by divers other means. Those who are well informed in these matters, do for certain affirm, that all the Subsidies which the *Pope* hath remitted to the *Emperour* and *King of Poland*, to carry on the *War* against the *Turks*, are not the thirtieth part of the Mony which he hath Treasured up, although likewise he hath pay'd many Debts of the *Chamber*, which were not chargeable upon the *Montes*.

I ought

I ought not here to omit relating, that the *Inns*, especially in *Tuscany*, in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, are very fordid and incommodious; one may give a pretty good guess at the prodigious Wealth belonging to the *Clergy* in the *Kingdom of Naples* by the great quantity of Plate, Vessels and Statues of Silver in the *Churches*, and by the riches and magnificent Furniture of their Habitations, and Vestments of the *Priests*. One may upon the whole matter make this Important Reflection, That if the *King of Spain* doth not think of some expedient, to hinder the *Clergy* from Increasing their *Estates in Lands*, which they do daily, they will in a very little time become Masters of the greatest part of the *Kingdom of Naples*; for they are already possessed of more than the half of the *Lands* of that *Kingdom*, besides the other vast profits they make continually under pretence of Service to the *Church*, for their *Masses*, *Buildings*, *Burials*, *Marriages*, *Confessions*, and by their *Indulgences*, and the *Legacies* left them by Will.

Though these are remarks made in haste, yet they may be of use to the Author.

I know several very pleasant Stories of the *Jesuits* at *Naples*. The *Prince of Salerno* gave them the moiety of a great House which he had at *Naples*, and thereupon an Inscription was engraven in Capital Letters upon the Frontispiece of the House, of the Donation thereof

given

given to the *Jesuits* by the said *Prince* ; within these few years the *Jesuits*, have turn'd the *Heirs* of the *Prince of Salerne* out of possession of the other Moiety of the said House, and have defaced the Inscription upon the House ; and all this they have done by Colour of Law and Justice. Upon the first Establishment of the Society of *Jesuits*, the *Carthusians* of *Naples*, who are very rich, voluntarily assigned them a yearly Pension of several thousand Ducats ; but the *Carthusians* perceiving that of late years several of the *Jesuits* were grown mighty rich, resolved to withdraw the said Pension ; the *Jesuits* hereupon went to Law with them, and obtained Sentence, that the said Pension should be continued. The *Jesuits* have got a very considerable part of the Lands of the Nobility in the *Kingdom of Naples*. All the *Religious*, of what Order soever they be, who have Houses at *Naples*, have the Priviledge of purchasing all Houses that are contiguous to them on the one side or the other to the very end of the Street, in order to make their Houses entire, and to stand alone like an *Island* ; and for this purpose they have no more to do, than only pay the Proprietor for his House, not according to the present Value, but as it was last sold, perhaps 50, 60, or 100 years ago, and so hath descended from Father to Son successively to the person then in possession.

Many

Many other very considerable Remarks might be made of the divers Tricks and Methods the *Clergy* of this *Kingdom* make use of to wheedle and trapan the *Laity* out of their *Estates*.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DIVORCE
OF
HENRY VIII.
AND
KATHARINE
OF
ARRAGON.

With the Defence of Sanders. The Refutation of the Two first Books of the History of the Reformation of Dr. Burnet. By Joachim le Grand. With Dr. Burnet's Answer and Vindication of himself.

WE have not as yet seen any more than the first Part of this Work, which was published the Fifth of this Month. I know not whether a Man may judge of the two other Parts by this, which seems at first but an Abridgment of the two first Books of the History

ry of the Reformation by Dr. Burnet, though the Author promises to refute them in the two following Volumes.

First, It seems that M. Le Grand foresaw that Men would have this Idea of his Work, which is the Reason he has put before that History a Preliminary Discourse where he endeavours, yet without telling his Design, to divert the Reader from having any such Thoughts. He relates at first a Conference that he had with Dr. Burnet, in the King's Library, in the Presence of Mr. Thevenot, and Mr. Auzout. The Makers of Dialogues frequently introduce two Persons, one of which puts the Question, and the other Answers: One is the Master, and the other is the Scholar: Or at least, they make him more learned that teaches, than he that propounds the Difficulties. But in the Relation of this Conference we find quite the contrary. Mr. Burnet, who according to the Authors Character, is a Person of a quick piercing Wit, laborious, indefatigable, and most capable to defend the Reformation; whose Expressions are always free, bold and full of fire, and who speaks upon this Occasion with an Eloquence that charms them that hear him: Yet this Mr. Burnet leaves the principal Points undetermined, or else consents and submits every thing that is opposed against him. But M. Le Grand, who propounds his Difficulties after a plain humble Manner, and rather as Doubts, than as real Objections, makes evident, quotes, attacks, and at

length

length leaves Mr. Burnet with hardly a Word to say for himself.

There is no Wonder to be made, that so soon, as M. Le Grand began to write, he should so suddenly overturn a Man of that Learning and Reputation as Dr. Burnet. For though never any Man wrote with more Cunning, or knew better how to link and chain one Event to another; yet, as the Author says, he never studied the History of England. He rumaged all the most considerable Libraries of the Kingdom, to fetch out Registers and authentick Records and Acts, and Copies of Dispatches, Memoirs and other Manuscripts of those times, out of which to compose his History; who has printed a Volume in Folio of those sort of Pieces, in justification of what he says; he to whom the whole Nation, and the Parliament it self, gave publick Testimonies of the Esteem which they had for his Work. But the reason that M. Le Grand, alledges for his Adversary's Ignorance in the History, is because he does not refute the Errors which M. Varillas has committed in several Things that concern'd England, in his first Book of the History of Heresy; having no other Design than to criticize upon the Ninth, which only relates to the Reformation, as appears by the Title, *A Critick upon the Ninth Book of the History of M. Varillas, where he speaks of the Revolutions, &c.*

Mr. Burnet and Mr. Varillas being such defective Historians in M. Le Grand's Opinion, there
is

is no Wonder if he threaten them, to raise up
Third, that shall make them lose a good Part of the Reputation which they have gotten. And that which confirms his Hopes is this, because 'tis Plain, That those Authors are very Negligent, and that their later Works are less valuable than their first. As for Mr. Varillas, since it could never be believed that a Historian, so partial, could write after a rational manner, I never give my self the Trouble to compare his Works together; and so I cannot say whether his Answer to his Adversaries Critick, be better or worse than his Histories. But as for M. Burnet's Travels into Italy, I must take the Liberty to inform the Public, that M. Le Grand, who cites that Book to confirm what he writes, made his Judgments upon the French Version, though Mr. Burnet hath declared, That he had but too frequently mistook his Meaning.

As to the Memoirs which the Author made use of, he says nothing but what he has taken out of the Letters and Dispatches of Francis I. Henry VIII. the Cardinals, Woolsey and Grandemont, the Bishop of Auxerres, Maion, Tarbes, &c. Where we find that M. Le Grand makes two Persons of Cardinal Grandemons and the Bishop of Tarbes, whereas they were but one and the same. As for the Letters and Dispatches, &c. of Henry VIII. and Cardinal Woolsey, a great many of them being in English, as may be seen in Mr. Burnet's Collection, perhaps they might be of little Use to our Author; for we are apt to be-

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seve that he did not understand the Language ; as well for that by the Judgment which he makes of the Travels into *Italy*, as by what Mr. *Burnet* shews in the Letter which follows this Extract, it appears that M. *Le Grand* never cast his Eyes upon that Collection of Pieces which is added to the English Edition of the History of the Reformation of *England*.

Secondly, The Divorce of *Henry VIII.* is too well known to make an Extract of it. We shall therefore make some Remarks, which will absolutely undeceive those who may imagine that M. *Le Grand's* Book is an Abstract of one part of Mr. *Burnet's*. In short, the Method and Design of those Two Books is extreamly different, as well as the Memoirs, upon which they are grounded. 1. Mr. *Burnet* has no other Aim in Writing the History of *Henry VIII.* than to represent how the Proceedings of that Prince, whose irregular conduct he does not undertake to justify, levell'd the Way to that Reformation which was made under his Successors: M. *Le Grand* makes *Henry* to be always in the wrong, as if he had never done good. 2. M. *Le Grand* bestows his Encomiums upon those that he thinks deserve them, though never so great Enemies of the Reformation, as *Fisher*, *Moor* and Cardinal *Pool*. He never dissembles the Faults of those that contributed most to the Reformation, as *Cromwel*, *Crammer*, the Duke of *Somerfet*, &c. because he has observed by an infinite Number of Examples out of Sa-
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cred and Ecclesiastical History, That God makes use of perfect Instruments for the Execution of his Designs. M. Le Grand seems to have had very opposite Ends. All those that contributed to advance the Reformation are very handled by him in his History; where he gives them the honourable Title of *False Prophets*, particularly to *Ann Bolen*, and *Crammer*, whom he calls the *False Prelate*; and *Cromwell*, whom he abuses, as a Man as ignorant as ever was in the World. This Minister, who is never permitted to justify himself, is condemned under pretence of having exceeded his Master's Orders, in granting *Pasports* for the Exportation of Money and Corn. But Heresy was the Capital accusation that was laid to his Charge. Nevertheless the Author assures us, That the Impeachment against him was grounded particularly, upon several Letters that were found among his Papers, wherein he acknowledged that he held private Correspondences with the Princes of Germany, unknown to the King.

Now in regard that History is but a Texture of Original Letters, and that every Politician has his particular Remarks upon an Affair which he does not well understand, no wonder that M. Le Grand represents so variously the Designs and Inclinations of those who had the greatest Share in that Negotiation. He says, That *Francis I.* was weary at last of the Capriccios of *Henry VIII.* and consented to the definitive Sentence, which condemned him to retake his *Wife* under Pain of Excommunication.

ication. Nevertheless he observes, that after that sentence, Francis I. sided with Henry VIII. in all his Affairs with all the Zeal imaginable. That Francis I. would not bear the Proposal of Clement VII. That that Pope had promised before to do for the King of England all that lay in his Power: That the Pope made some Scruple at it, but at length gave him his Promise. But all these new Promises could not make the Holy Father forget those that he had made at the beginning of the Process to the General of the Cordeliers, the Emperor's Agent. Clement himself acknowledged that he had promised that he would never pronounce Sentence upon the Divorce, and that he would do nothing in that Affair without giving Charles I. Notice. If the Church of Rome, be so excessively tied to Decisions, the Court of Rome, on the other side, is as little tied to Promises. And therefore we must confess that the Complaisance of that Church goes sometimes a very great way. In those Ages, saith our Author, speaking of those that followed the Tenth, The Discipline touching Marriages was not so severe as afterwards. Kings put away their Wives upon slight occasions, and never sought for any Pretence. Afterwards they were desirous to have one, and it was as easie to find one; because they could not marry with a Kinswoman on this side the Seventh Degree: So that Princes that could not Allie themselves indifferently with all sorts of Persons finding themselves all united in Blood, and coming to dislike their Match, proved their near Affinity, put away their Wives and

took others. So that there were some Princes who had Two or Three Wives living, and Princeesses that had Two or Three Husbands. This was practised in the Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Ages; and in these times of Darknes and Ignorance it was, that these Scholes of Canonists and Scholastick Divines became so numerous.

A Letter to Monsieur Thevenot, being a full Refutation of Mr. Le Grand's History of HENRY VIII's Divorcing KATHARINE of Arragon. With a plain Vindication of the same by Dr. G.

PERmit me, Sir, before I pay you all those marks of respect which are your due, to assure you that I am so well perswaded of your Probity and Sincerity, that maugre the difference of perswasion that is between us, nevertheless I dare adventure to submit to your Judgment in the Contest, that seems to be between me and Mr. Le Grand, in a matter that has no small relation to Religion. Opinions, and the speculative Consequences which Men draw from matters of Fact, appear very much different, according to the different Ideas which men have of the Things: But the matters of Fact themselves have but one Face, and present themselves after the same manner to all that seek the Truth. There-

fore in regard that our dispute moves altogether upon matters of Fact, I am apt to believe I can hazard nothing in taking you for my Arbitrator.

During our last Residence at *Paris*; having had the Honour to visit you several times, I had time to observe with how much justice you made your self the subject, and the esteem, and admiration of all the World. I was convinced of it more particularly by the Civilities which you heap'd upon me, and by the pains you took to bring me into a Conference with M. *Le Grand*; in your own and the Presence of M. *Auzout*. I was the less scrupulous when I found my self in a place where I could expect nothing but fair dealing from a person that lived in the House of a Man no less considerable for his extraordinary Vertues, than for the great Employments with which he was entrusted, and who frequently conversed with the Learned M. *Bulneau*, who as often visited the famous M. *Baluze*; whose Sincerity equals his profound Learning, a thing rarely to be found in our Age: And, which was more than all the rest, a Friend of M. *Thevenot's*. This made me look upon M. *Le Grand*, as a person that had all those Noble Qualities that were to be expected from a fair Adversary.

I should give you too great a trouble to recal to your memories all those little Things that were upheld in your Presences, and at which you your selves were so much distasted, that you

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confess'd ingeniously how much you were ashamed to hear them. You made this acknowledgment not only to me, after M. *Le Grand's* departure, but to several others also; and you were so well satisfied in this, that though what had been propounded, was not worth the talking of, yet that I had fully answer'd the Discourse, as mean and frivolous as it was. M. *Auzout* desired likewise at the same time, that I would make no noise of it, to which request I was readily induced to condescend: For to say the very truth, I did not find that my Adversary was a subject worthy my Triumph, or the pains of boasting in publick a Victory over him. And therefore as to what I have deem'd requisite to insert of our Discourse, among the Remarks which I have made upon some passages of the History of M. *Varillas*, I have managed M. *Le Grand* with all the Circumspection that he could expect from me. Though, if in the pursuit of this Discourse, I happen to wound him more to the quick, he must thank himself, and not lay the blame on any body else.

I can easily brook all those Reflections which he has made upon my Ignorance, and shallowness of Capacity, more particularly upon what he says, *That I never studied the History or the Laws of England*. For thus he expresses himself after he had bestowed great Praises upon me, and such as I never deserved. Nevertheless, by the suddain change of his Pen, he seems to look upon me as a Person

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of little worth. But that same Thick skulld, and common Artifice of some People to praise those whose Reputation they have a delight to destroy will never surprize men of Understanding; nor will hainious and dirty reproaches pass among them under the Covert of a few generous Encomium's. I must be contented with that small measure of Knowledge and Capacity, which come to my just share, especially now that I have to do with a Person of so mean a Talent, as Mr. *Le Grand* appears to be by this same Treatise of his.

I could only wish that they, who would be better inform'd of the truth of that celebrated Passage of the History, which is the Subject of our Dispute would give themselves the trouble to read what *Sanders* and my self have written, and then peruse the History of M. *Le Grand*. I am assur'd they will conclude, That there must be some fault in the Title Page, where he promises the *Defence of Sanders, and the Refutation of the Two first Books of my History*. The whole substance of his Work agrees altogether with mine, unless it be in some parts, where he shews that great Art of his, wherein I yield him willingly to out-do me. In all things else he so perfectly concurs with me, that I am tempted to believe, He only took his Pen in hand, to fulfill those Offers which he made me in your Presence, to furnish me with *Memoirs* sufficient for the Confirmation of what I have wrote

upon this Subject. True it is, I have not read any more as yet than the First Part of his Book; nor can I imagine how he has abridg'd during the whole course of his History of Anne of Boeigne, and in all the progresses of the Story that depends upon it, though it be the chief Head of *Sander's* Accusation, and which he presses most vigorously, as being a Nullity in the Title of Queen Elizabeth, and consequently an Original pretence for Rebellion. He acknowledges not the *Decretal Bull*, nor does he insist upon the Canriage of *Sr. Thomas Moore*. In a word; if you examine the Fourscore Faults of which I have accus'd *Sanders* in my additions, you will find that *Mr. Le Grand* has confessed above Seventy, and confirms what I have maintained in opposition to him. Which will most evidently appear, if his work shall ever be thought worthy a larger Examination.

I say nothing of his Style, for that his Readers without much consideration or study will easily find it to be the Style rather of an Advocate that pleads a Cause, than of a person disinterestedly and cordially and barely relates matter of Fact. For to argue with heat and passion, and reproach his Adversaries, are unpardonable faults in an Historian. Besides that, there is something so sacred in the very Ashes of Kings, that they are never to be spok'n of but with great Caution; and if at any time there be an unavoidable occasion to blame some of their Actions, softer Terms

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are to be made use of, than those of *L^e and the*
pasture. Add to this, that the principal Point,
 and upon which the whole Question moves, being,
 Whether the King's own Cause ought not rather
 to be judged in *England*, and by his Clergy, than
 at *Rome*, and in the Consistory; that Man can
 never be thought to act conformably to the Gal-
 lican Church, who takes part with the Pope up-
 on this occasion. It is rather to be wondered at,
 that at a time when there is so little respect given
 at *Versailles* to the *Vatican* Thunder, and where
 the Ancient Custom is renewed of appealing from
 the Pope to the General Council; I say, it is a
 wonder, at such a time as this, a Subject of this
 Nature, should not be handled with more
 freedom and sincerity. Perhaps this is one of
 the little Tricks of those sort of People, which
Mr. Tabor has more frankly described, than I have
 a design to do, who make hideous portraictures
 of the Actions of *Henry VIII.* to observe the
 glory of those of *Lewis the Great*. And perhaps
 our Author is neither so great a Politician, nor
 so well knowing in Affairs, as to have such di-
 stant prospects in his Eyes, or else this work be-
 ing his first Essay, he did not study the Point
 with that Application which was requisite, be-
 lieving that trouble to no purpose while he has
 to do with a Person, that gives no better proofs of
 his Understanding than my self. I shall therefore
 insist only upon six of his principal Errors, which
 are nothing to the great number of mistakes.

which he has committed, and which I could hardly make appear, had I the Liberty to enlarge myself in a writing that must be inserted into the *Universal Library*.

I. He calls in question the Contents of the Decretal Bull, which Cardinal *Compeggio* brought upon this Ground, That having been only shew'd to the King and Cardinal *Woolsey*, no Body can tell what it was; and if it had been a definitive Sentence in that matter, the Legates Commission had been at an end; and the King would have contracted his Second Marriage, as formerly *Leopold* the XII. did, without expecting any other proceedings.

Had Monsieur *Le Grand* given himself the trouble to read that Bull which I have published, he might have spar'd himself so many useless Remarks. The Bull was contriv'd in *England* and sent to *Rome*, where, though some few Alterations were made, it appeared nevertheless by all the Letters, that were written reciprocally from *Rome* and *England*; that the Bull which was given to *Compeggio* was in substance the same. Certain it is, that Bull declared the King's Pretences to be just, gave power to the Legates, to examine the Truth of them, and to pronounce Sentence upon the proofs that should be made before them. For though this Bull implied a definitive Sentence of the Pope, upon a supposition of the Validity of the King's Pretensions; nevertheless it left many things for the Legates to do. They

were to inform themselves, 1. Whether the King had not desired this Marriage himself. 2. Whether it would not occasion a War between Spain and England, should a Dispensation be granted. 3. Whether this Dispensation had been annull'd by the Protestation which the King made against the Marriage, when he came to be of Age. 4. Whether any of the Princes, in favour of whom the Dispensation was allow'd, were Dead before the Marriage was consummated.

It is apparent that that same Bull for the dissolution of the Marriage between *Henry* and *Catherine*, being only granted upon supposition, that all the matters in Question were as the King maintained them to be, had been void in case he could not have prov'd his suggestions; which is the thing that confounds all the Author's Arguments.

But I must confess that *M. Le Grand* has something of Reason on his side in what he says concerning *Rodulphus*, whom I believed to have been *Campeggio's* Bastard. He proves out of *Sigonius*, who writes the Life of that Cardinal, that *Rodulphus* was his Legitimate Son. *Sigonius* is a very good Author, and I acquiesce in his Authority. But had *M. Le Grand* cast but his Eyes upon the *English* Edition, he would have seen that it was not without sufficient Ground, and not out of any design to blacken the Reputation of *C. Campeggio*, that I call'd *Rodulphus* Bastard; since I quote

the very Discourse wherein he is so called, which was Compos'd by Sr. *William Thomas*, Secretary to the Privy Council, under the Title of *The English Pilgrim*. I had the misfortune not to have seen the Life that was written by *Sigamus*, so that it is only a fault of Omission, which the Author would aggravate into a malicious Invention. And I make this acknowledgment of my Error so much the more frankly, because it is the only mistake among all the rest of which the Author accuses me, that is well grounded.

II. *M. Le Grand* labours to destroy the Authority of the Decision of the *Sorboun* in favour of *Henry*. But in regard this Decision was printed the Year following, and acknowledged for true and real, since no person in those times taxes it of being counterfeited, we have no reason now to suspect it; for neither does *Cardinal Pool*, who was then at *Paris*, when it was made, nor any other writer of the *Roman Communion*, tax the King of Imposture upon that occasion. Add to this that the *Bishop of Tarbes* being continued to solicit in *Henry's* behalf at the Court of *Rome*, after he was made Cardinal, and that the King had publicly acknowledged before the Legates, how privy that Prelate had been to his Scruples conceived upon his Marriage, has given an undeniable Confirmation of this matter, whatever our Author says to the contrary. The same thing is to be said of the *Sorboun*; for that never having been charged

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with falshood in the particular of this Decision: there is no question but that they made it. So that all M. Le Grand's Arguments can never prove any thing more, than only that it has occasioned great Disputes, and that *Beda* was a real promoter of Sedition. By the way, we may observe that the Ecclesiastics of *France* were very ill satisfied with the Conduct of *Francis* the First, who had sold their Liberties by the *Concordate*, of which the University of *Paris* was so sensible, and for that reason full of Malecontents. And therefore it might be perhaps that so many of the *French* Clergy were so ill affected to *Henry's* Cause, because they knew that *Francis* the first so passionately supported his Interests. After all, the Author confesses, That he found in the scrutiny Fifty three voices for the Divorce, and Forty two against it; and Five, that were of Opinion that the matter should be referr'd to the Pope. And this is sufficient to justify the printed Decision, which only says, That the greatest number of Doctors were for the Divorce, and declared the Marriage illegal, which may serve for an Explanation of the words of the Letter of the first President, *That that same Declaration would do the King more hurt than it would advance his Affairs*; In regard all the other Universities had judg'd in his Favour, whereas the Opinion of the *Sorboun* favour'd him only by the plurality of voices.

III. The Author, who pretends to publish an Extract of the Reasons which the Favourers of Henry alledged against his Marriage, has forgot the Principal, and that which supported all the decisions of the Romish Church; that is to say, *That the Scripture, explained by Tradition, is the Rule according to which all Controversies are to be determined*: They alledged a perpetual succession of Provincial and general Councils of Popes, and the Chief of the Greek and Latin Fathers; particularly, the Four most famous Fathers of the Western Church, whereas the Imperialists had neither Father nor Doctor on their side. Nevertheless the Author says no more, but that the English quoted the Canons of some Provincial Councils concerning Incontinency; with certain passages out of *Tertullian*, *St. Basil* and *St. Jerom* about Virginity, and against second Nuptials. I am sure the Reader must here take notice, That there is something wanting in this Relation which is more essential to an honest Man, than a great Stock of Capacity. For the Canons of Councils and the Passage out of the Fathers which they quoted, speak expressly of the Degrees of Marriage, forbidden in *Leviticus*. He names Three Popes whose Letters they produced; but he passes over in silence the Chief, in reference to *England*, who was *Gregory the Great*. For the Saxons being converted at what time he held the See, this Pope gave express Order to *Austin* the

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Monk to disannul all Marriages that had been contracted with Brothers Wives. Now *England* having submitted to this Law, upon its first embracing Christianity, they who defended the Kings scruples looked upon this as the Principal Foundation of his Cause. So that if *M. Le Grand* would have acquired the Reputation of a sincere Historian, he ought to have mentioned this Particular. Moreover he should not have passed over in silence as he does, all that was alledged against the Power which the Popes assume to themselves of dispensing with all Ecclesiastical, and every the Divine Laws themselves. Nor ought he to have forgot that other great Reason urged by the King, that according to the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, the determination of that matter belonged of right to the *English Church*, and not to the Pope. If the Author be a True Member of the *Gallican Church*, he ought to grant these Maximes; and if he would be thought a Faithful Historian, he ought not to pass them over in silence. But though he do not set down all the Kings Reasons, he adds several New Reasons to the Queens pleading, which her Advocates never dream'd of, and we do not meet with in any Story or Relation of that time. They all tend to prove that the Rules touching the degrees of Consanguinity have not been always observed in Marriages with the same Exactness. But the Church is
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governed by Rules and not by Example

As for the Law of *Deuteronomy* which permits a Man to Marry his Sister-in-Law, if her Husband died without Children, it has been always considered in the Christian Church, as an Exception to the General Rule ; so that in regard it was only made in favour of the *Jews*, and with reference to their Right of Succession, it was abolish'd together with their Republick ; whereas the Laws of *Leviticus* concerning this Matter, are to be look'd upon as Laws that are Moral and Universally received. In a word if you will take the pains to compare the Books that have been written upon this Subject, with the Extracts which M. Le Grand and my self have given of them, you will presently find that he writes with no Sincerity at all, who descends to a Nicety. For my part I shall not Envy him the High Opinion he has of his, so long as Men will but acknowledge me to have writ sincerely and without the Byass of Interest.

IV. Our Author says that the Parliament abolish'd the Oath which the Bishops swore to the Pope at the time of their Consecration ; and form'd another which they were to swear to the King. But this is not that which he calls understanding to the Bottom, the Laws and History of *England*. For the Truth was this. They read in that Assembly the two oaths which the Bishops took, the one to the Pope, the other to the King ; and

in regard they found them to be Contradictory, being two oaths of Homage and Fidelity, which could only be sworn to one Sovereign; they abolish'd that which was made to the Pope, and let that stand in it's full vigour which was sworn to the King I have given an undeniable Example of their Oaths sworn to the King by the Bishops in former Ages, which is to be seen in an Act at the head of the Collection of the Pieces that justify my History. If Mr. *Le Grand* had only the *French Translation*, where those Pieces are not, he might have consulted the *English Edition* at Mr. *Bul-leau's*, where they are all to be seen. He might have there seen in the Act which I cite, *Cardinal Adrian* renounce not only all the Clauses of the Bulls which were contrary to the Kings Prerogative, or the Laws of *England*; but also swear an Oath of Fealty to the King, in the same Terms which our Kings have since continued to receive them from the Bishops. The Oath to the Pope, which is an Innovation not known till before the XII. Age, contains besides, so many large and unlimited Clauses, which neither accord with the Doctrine of the Gallican Church, nor with that submission and duty which Prelates owe their lawful Prince, since it is apparently an Oath of Homage and Fidelity to a Foreign Power.

V. Mr. *Le Grand* labours might and main, to make *Crammer* to be lock'd upon as one of the most wicked men in the world. He accuses me for making him a Gentleman, but I have said nothing

thing of it, though I well knew him to be
 not believing that Quality considerable enough
 to be mentioned in the Eulogies due to the
 memory of so great a Personage. He cannot
 believe, 'That *Cranmer* was in *Germany* when
 ' *Warham* died, nor that he was named in his
 ' Absence to be Bishop of *Canterbury*; nor that
 ' he stay'd Seven weeks after he received the
 ' News of his Nomination, because he assisted
 ' at the Marriage of the King with *Anne Boleyn*.
 He cannot allow what I say, 'That this Affair
 ' went on slowly, since it was but three Months
 ' between *September* and *January* before this Pro-
 ' clate was known to be exalted at *Rome*. Nor
 ' will he be perswaded, That the Provincial Synod
 ' of *Canterbury* pronounced any positive sentence
 ' upon the Marriage of the King. See here
 more mistakes than *Varillas* himself could have
 been guilty of. For in the Criminal Process
 against *Cranmer* which is Printed, we find that
 he calls his Judges to witness, with what re-
 luctancy he accepted the Primacy of *England*;
 and that he did not return out of *Germany* till
 Seven Weeks after the King had signified to him
 his Intentions. Nor did the Bishops who knew
 his Judges, and who had been Eye-witnesses of
 his behaviour at that time, say any thing to it,
 as not being able to contradict what he said.
 Twelve Weeks passed from the Twenty third
 of *August*, that *Warham* died, to the Fourteenth
 of *November*, that the King was married; so
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although the Courier had staid Fifteen
by the way, *Cranmer* might have delay'd his
departure for Seven Weeks, and yet have come
time enough to be at the Nuptials of the King.
But our Author to change Five Months into
three excludes *September* and *January* out of his
Account, for this only Reason, 'That he found
it requisite to retrench them. As for the Judgment
of the Synod of *Canterbury*, the Sentence of Di-
vorce has it in exprets Terms, That the two
provincial Synods of *England* had decided the
King's Cause.

But *M. Le Grand*, above all things makes it
a Crime in *Cranmer*, that he took an Oath of
Obedience to the Pope when he was consecrated;
and for that he made a Protestation, by which
he gave divers Restrictions to the said Oath.
But he reports all that he says concerning this
Matter, upon the Authority of certain pas-
sionate Scriblers, and quite contrary to the Faith
of the publick Acts. The Protestation of the
Archbishop was read twice before the Altar,
while he was consecrating, and it is clear that
he had no design to make use of Equivocals,
since what he did he did in publick, and for
that the Bishops usually made Protestations, by
which they renounced all Clauses of their Bulls
which were contrary to the Kings Prerogative.
It seems the Canonists, accustomed to this doub-
ling Equivocation, had so much Power over
Cranmer as to encline him to take the Oath;
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and restrain it by a publick Protestation, made the same time ; so that if he did any thing in so doing, it was rather a Defect of Judgment in that Prelate, than any want of Sincerity.

VI. The Author says that the King pardoned *Moore and Fisher*, the Business of the *Maid of Kent* and though he confesses that the first ridicules him for an *idle silly Num* in one of his Letters, yet he seems not to have seen a long Letter of *Moore* which I published in my justifying Pieces belonging to the Second Volume, where he speaks of the pretended Revelations of that religious Wench, as *one of the most horrid Impostures that ever were*. As for *Fisher*, whatever the Author says, he was condemned for favouring that Imposture. To this *M. Le Grand* adds, *That the Chancellour having demanded of Fisher and Moore, what they thought of the Statutes made in the last Parliament, they would make no Answer, only they said, That being cut off from civil Society, they minded nothing but their Meditations upon their Saviour's Passion, which Answer cost them their Lives*. Here is a Corruption of History, which I shall not call so bad as it deserves ; which is so much the more odious, for that writing things as they were transacted, and according to publick Acts, he could represent them after a manner so favourable to his own Cause. These two great Men were condemned at first by virtue of a *Præmunire*, which is loss of Goods and perpetual Imprisonment, for having refused to take the Oath,

with concerning the Succession, by reason of the King's Marriage according to an Act of Parliament. After that they were farther prosecuted, because they opposed the King's Supremacy, or his Title of the supreme Head of the English Church. There is one thing too in *Moore's* Process which might be sufficient to make a Man Guilty of High Treason, where he says, *That a Parliament can make a King and depose a King.*

Now in regard I have confin'd my self within these Six Heads, I shall go no farther; but the abundance of Matter makes me that I have much to hold here, I cannot but wonder the Author has forgot so many important Things in his History, and that he could find in the Collection of Letters printed by *Camuzat*, which I never saw, until he did me the Honour to give them unto me. He says nothing of what the Pope promised Cardinal Tournon, *That for Forms Sake he should be obliged to observe some Formalities of Action, to the End he might not seem himself too partial to the King of England, in favour of whom he was resolved to do what lay in his Power, for the Love of you,* said the Prelate, writing to the King of France. And a little after, *I think I am well assured that our Holy Father will comply with you touching the Request which you have made him in Behalf of your said Brother, Henry VIII.* In a Letter of the Seventeenth of August 1533. The same Cardinal writes to *Francis I.* *That the greatest Party of the Cardinals, that were of the Imperial Faction,*

Faction, would have been mad with the Pope, he not done what he did, in regard there was little likelihood that the King would submit his Cause, and that the Pope might have some honourable sentence to act for him, he would do it with as good Will as was possible. And it may be, added a Minister, when you meet together (he speaks of an Interview that was to be at Marseilles) there will be found out Expedients. It appears also by another Letter, that Francis I. told the English Ambassador, That the Pope himself had confessed that Henry's Cause was just, and that he wanted not more than a Procurator. Therefore it was that when the King was cited to appear at Rome in Person or by a Proctor, he took little Notice of it. That if Carriers were sent beyond the Mountains in the Quality of an Excuser, it was seen by those Mixtures that it was not in the Name of the King, but in the Nation's Behalf that he went to make that kind of Excuses.

This Refusal of Henry being look'd upon at Rome as an effect of Contempt, which he had done to the Holy See, the Pope promised him the Divorce if he would but appear in that City either in Person or by his Proctor, in pursuance of the Assignment which he had caused to be given him, and acknowledge his Authority.. Francis the First applauded the King's Conduct in that Affair, and was so far from endeavouring to oppose his Marriage, that he ordered his Ambassador to be God-Father in his Name to the

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Child that should be born in case it were a son. The French Embassador at Rome about that time wrote also several Letters to his Master's Court, where he observes, That the Pope was very ready to do what was desired in the King of England's behalf, and more if he durst or could, but that the Emperors People pressed the Affair with so much Importunity, that the half of the time, His Holiness, against God and against Reason, nay, contrary to the Opinion of a good part of the Imperial Cardinals, was constrained above half the time, to act at the pleasure of M. Dosme — We wanted you there to have put a spoke in his Wheel, pursues he, writing to the Cardinal of Grandemont, There is no Man that dares tell him the Truth. And it is as true that this Embassador who was Bishop of Ambreres, said also speaking to the Pope, That he saw him so pressed by the Emperor, his People, and the greatest part of the Cardinals, that he thought he could do no good but only by Dissimulation. But indeed these cunning Politicians understand so well how to change their Stile, according to Occurrences, that there's hardly any trust to be given to their Letters. The same Day that he wrote what we have cited to the Pope's Legate, in another Letter to the Grand Master he observes, that the Pope had told him, that for Four Years the Business of Henry VIII. had been in his Hands, that there was nothing effected as yet; that if he might do what he would; he would do what he would; and says the Minister,

Minister, This be told me in such a manner, that if I am not deceived he thought what he said. All those Letters were dated the 17. of Feb. 1533. But in another of the 13. of Jan. following, he assures that the Pope had told him, That he was resolved to referr the whole Business to a good Time, and that he clearly understood, what the Pope meant by a good Time. To which he adds; that if the Matter had been judged according to the Wishes of the Cardinals, and the eager Instigation of the Emperor's People, the most ancient and learned had judged for the King of England. But that there were but few of that Company, and the number of the other was so great, that by plurality of voices the English would have utterly lost it.

M. Le Grand is very nice and tender, when he comes to that Circumstance, that there arriv'd a Courier from England to Rome a day or two after Sentence was given; and he omits the hast in which it was pronounced, as if he knew nothing of it. Nevertheless we find in these Miscellanies, a Letter from Pomponio Tivulci, dated from Lyons the 16. of April, where he observes, that M. de Paris passing that way upon his return from Rome, told him that the definitive Sentence which the Pope had given against the King of England, had been precipitated. That it was not the Pope's fault that they did not temporize longer; that if they had staid but Six Days more before they had

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pronounced it, the King would have submitted to the Holy See. But that the Importance of the Cardinals and the Consistory was so great, that they would not stay. That the next Day after the dissolution of England came too late, but that then the Consistory and the Imperialists were mad, that they said no longer. All these passages plainly shew, that the Court of Rome was governed in this Affair, only by the prospects and maxims of Policy. And therefore it is, that according to the Principles of the Gallican Church, Mr. Le Grand has maintained with so much Zeal, upon an occasion of much less importance, that the King of England had no reason to have any regard to the Sentences and Thundrings of that Court.

If I am extremely obliged to Mr. Le Grand for having made me a present of so good a Book, in which he furnish'd me with so many proofs of the most important Points of my History, I am no less troubled that he had so little value for himself, as to suppress them, and for his having forced me, as I may so say, to make use of the kindness he has done me to his own disadvantage. But upon such occasions as these, the saying is, *Magis amica veritas*. And though Mr. Le Grand imagines that I am jealous of my Productions, were not the Interests of Religion intermix'd therewith, I could easily abandon mine. But I will not now push this censure any farther; neither do I know whether I shall write any more upon this Subject, not being able to determine

determine any thing in that matter, till I have
seen the Three other parts of this work,
the effects it will produce in the World. I
conclude with humble request to pardon the
Liberty which I take of addressing this Letter
to you, and that in so public a manner,
believing a man could otherwise so properly give
a censure upon a printed Book,

I am, Sir, &c.

Hague, 20. of June.

ANIMAD

ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE REFLECTIONS UPON Dr. B's TRAVELS.

WHEN we were made believe that *Reflections* upon Dr. B's *Travels* would quickly appear, somewhat that was considerable was both promised and expected, and even Dr. B's friends apprehended that in such a number of particulars, with which he had filled his Letters, some few might have been found that had been ill warranted: For no body could have imagined, that a Book which had been so much read, and so well received, should have been reflected on with so much malice, and with so little judgment, that after a Preface full of dull spite, there should not have been one single Article among Fourscore and Two that are pickt out, that should in the least shake the Credit, in which the Book and its Author are held.

Some

Some have fancied that either Dr. B. or the Printers of his Book, have hired the Reflections to make this performance, for raising the Credit of the Letters of Travels, and for giving them the advantage of selling another Edition of them. Sure such Reflections cannot possibly have any other effect. If we had a party of men of our side, that had learned to put in practise the Modesty and other Morals of the Jesuits, one should have imagined that this Book might have been such an Imposture as was discovered about thirty years ago, among the *Jesuits* at *Paris*, who hearing of a severe book that was coming out against them from the Cabal of the *Jansenists*, employed one of their own *Fathers* to write a book, which as it had the same Title, so seemed to pursue the same design; but was writ in so poor and contemptible a manner, that it could have no effect, but to render the party from which it was believed to come, ridiculous: and the Press wrought so hard, that this *mock-book* prevented the true one; so that upon its appearance, and its passing for that which was expected, the party was much deceived, till a little time laid open the Imposture, which had covered the Society with a just confusion; if their being accustomed to such practices had not rendered them insensible of the shame that the discovery brought upon them. So upon this occasion I staid a while to see if there might not be some foul play here, though our side has no reason to be so much as suspected of such *Leger-*

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I confess I do not know what judgment to make of the Author, or his Translator: for report, and the Title Page, call him a Foreigner; so the gross Errors, and the coarseness of the Stile are capable of no excuse but that of a Translator's being tied to his Author, though liberty of changing such Phrases as, *that his wealth should fail*, and *the most polite Nation of the English*, is practised by all that have a right notion of giving a true Translation. I do not know which is the *most polite Nation of the English*: I hope he does not mean the *Irish*; and I am sure whatever that Nation is, he is not of it: His *Helvetia*, *Sorbierius*, and *Amelottius Houffarus*, shew that the Translator knows not how these Names ought to be writ in *English*. There are some very few touches that look like *Wis*, and that by consequence are so little of a thread with the whole, that I am apt to believe these have been drop't in by a once famous Poet, who, as is said, review'd it: and perhaps he had some Remnants in his Common-place-book of *Wis*, that were not yet imployed by him; so as he found that this book wanted garnishing extreamly, he was so bountiful as to afford some; but that was done so sparingly, as not to exhaust his own stock, which is now low. Our Reflector shews his good taste of *Wis*, by giving us that gross Clinch of *Asinitas* set against *Patavinitas* as due to *Asinius Pollio*, for reproaching *Livy* with the other: and this he seems to think a flower. His

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accusing of *Plutarch* of *dullness*, and *want of Spirit*, shews, that his taste is as correct concerning the Authors whom he despises, as concerning those whom he esteems: and Dr. B. has no reason to be troubled to see himself attack't by a man that had the confidence to disparage the greatest of all the Ancient Authors, in whose simplicity and seeming carelessness, there is a beauty that far exceeds all the painting of a laboured Style. The other parts of the Preface shew how little he either understands books or men: But as he seems not capable of correction, so he is too Inconsiderable to need that a Warning should be given to the World for preventing the mischief that his Pen may do it. This Essay is warning enough.

He warns us of his *Choler* against Dr. Burnet, and thinks that he has used him *severely*, which *injury*, he says, ought to be redressed: But, I dare say, he cannot raise any *choler* in the Doctor, or make him complain, either of the *injuries* he does him, or of his *severe usage* of him: Such a Writer as he is, can do *injuries* to none but himself. He makes a fair parallel between *Learning* and *Vertue*; and to shew us how well he knows the History of the last Age, he gives us the Constable *Memorancy* for a pattern of great Vertue. In conclusion, he fancies Dr. Burnet is little concerned in the esteem that the World may have of his *Vertue*, so long as he maintains the Character of a *Learned Man*; but I do not know in which of the Doctor's Actions or Writings he has discovered this: to be sure

our *Reflector* has found nothing like it in these Letters of his Travels: for though he pretends to say somewhat on those points which relate to Learning, yet he has not mentioned any one thing that can in any manner lessen the opinion that any may have of the Doctor's *Vertue*: So that all this discourse is, besides the malice of it, absolutely impertinent.

He reckons up some who have writ of the Commonwealth of *Venice*, among whom he names *Ame-
lotius Houffarus*, as the last, which shews how little he knows the Books, writ concerning that State, since Mr. *St. Didier*, a man of another sort of force, as well as of greater probity, who was Secretary to the Count of *Avaux* while he was Ambassador at *Venice*, has given an account of that Commonwealth, that is both more faithful and more exact than the other. I do not love to tell personal things that may be to a third Man's prejudice; but since the *Reflector* opposes his *Houffarus* to Dr. *Burnet*. I must tell him, that *de la Houffarie* is too well known in *France* to build much on his Credit: the accidents of his Life have been too publick, and his Attempt on the Memory of Mr. *Ablancourt*, has been turned upon him in so vigorous and so severe a manner, that few things will pass upon his Authority. *Reflector's* calling an *Extract* drawn from a *Record*, the *Fable of the Monks of Bern*, is a beauty of *Stile* peculiar to him: If he had proved, that Dr. *Burnet* had falsified the *Record*, he might justly have called it

a *Fable*, and have also bestowed on the Doctor all the good words that he could invent. His Raillery concerning the Women is too coarse to deserve an answer. He censures the Dr. for setting *Francis* the 1st before *Charles* the 5th: This he thought so remarkable an Error, that not contented with the Reflection that he bestows on it, he sets it in the Preface, as one of his most Conspicuous Faults; though if such an Error had been committed in a Letter, which does not require an exactness of Stile, it had been no great matter: But Dr. B. was speaking of the Wars of *Millan*; so to observe the Order of the History, he ought to have mentioned *Francis* the 1st in the first place, because he had conquered *Millan*, and was in possession of it for some years before either *Charles* the 5th was chosen *Emperor*, or before he began to meddle in the matters of that Dutchy: So all his discourse of the Precedence due to the Emperor, is meer fooling here, where the Order of Time was only considered, without any regard to the Dignity of the Persons: And the Order in which the Doctor put the Three Religions that had their Exercises in the Church of the *Concord* at *Manheim*, had no relation to their Dignity or Precedence, but meerly to the Order of Time, the *Calvinists* having their Exercise first, the *Lutherans* next, and the *Papists* last.

The Reflector studies to infer from Dr. B's Promise, to write an account of those things
that

that he saw, which pleas'd him most : That therefore the *Misery* which he observed in *France*, and with which he begins his Letters, was a thing that *pleased him mightily*. But the Dr. might be pleased with the Observation that he made, without delighting in the *Misery which he saw* : For to a man that loves a Legal Government, and a Religion free of Superstition, it is no small pleasure to be confirmed in that, by the Observation of the Effects that these things have upon Civil Society ; which are never so sensibly felt, as when one sees the Effects that flow from a contrary Constitution of Government and Religion : so the Doctor might have had all the tenderness with which such objects ought to have moved him, and yet be pleased to think of the happiness of other Nations and Churches. I dare say the Doctor is very *well pleased* to find such a book writ against him, without being pleased with the Impertinences that are in it ; so he might find a real pleasure in observing the difference between *England* and *France*, and yet have all the Compassions that became him for the Oppressions under which the *French* groan.

He finds matter of Censure in the Doctor's making a difference between the *Public Justice* of *Geneva*, and the *Private* ; for that which he says relating to their *Arsenal*, is too much honoured by being mentioned, it being so excessively impertinent. The *Public Justice* is fully explained by the Doctor, by which he means the *Justice of*

the Government, and the Court of Judicature, which may be highly commendable in a State, in which there may be too great a mixture of double dealing in private Transactions ; and an Author that fancies there is a Contradiction in saying, that the Switzers are heavy witted, and yet conduct their matters with much dexterity and address, has, it seems, studied Logick to good purpose, Whose flowing from a lively imagination, and Dexterity from a solidity of judgment: Those that have a small share of the one, may by that very defect be so much the more eminent in the other. And it seems the Reflector's knowledge of Manuscripts, is of a piece with his other Qualities, since he quarrels with Dr. B. for saying, that the Manuscripts in St. Mark's Library are Modern, and not above Five Hundred Years old. Those Manuscripts are the Works of the Old Greek Philosophers, and the Fathers; and nothing but an Ignorance equal to his, could except to the calling the Manuscripts of those Writers Modern, since they are not above Five Hundred Years old. But it seems he is so ignorant as to think they lived but Five Hundred Years ago; and upon that supposition the Manuscripts cannot be Modern, if they are as Ancient as the Authors themselves are.

There is but one part of this Preface in which I am of the Reflector's mind, which is, that he confesses *he expects no praise from the*

Work:

Work: and in that I dare answer for it, his hopes will not fail him. He adds, that there is *no need of Ingenuity in it*; and indeed he has writ like one that thought the smallest measure of it would have quite spoiled his performance: Therefore he has put in none of that mixture which would have been very foreign to his design. But if what he adds is true, *that a man of a mean capacity was proper for it*, then his, which is of the *lowest Form*, will scarce be allowed to rise up to the size of a *mean capacity*. He avoids the saying any thing of *Switzerland*, though if he had found matter for Reflections, he who to the reproach of his Country, is said to be a *Switzer* born, should have insisted most upon matters that he may be supposed to know. But to supply that defect, he pretends that he is informed by a friend, that a *Learned man of Zurich* is about a *Work to expose the Insipid Errors of the Doctor*. This would make one think that he is a *Protestant*, though his Reflections shew the contrary. If he has had any correspondence at *Zurich* hitherto, he must expect that will soon fail him, that *Canton* being too severe to the Principles of their Religion, to endure such a rotten member long; and from what *Canton* soever the Doctor may apprehend some severity, certainly it cannot be from *Zurich*, of whom he has given so just and so high a Character, that he can look for no sharpness from any of that Body.

So far I have gone over our Reflector's face, and have found faults enough in my way for so short a discourse : But I go next to the Book it self. I am indeed ashamed to write against such an Author ; and if it were not that I intended to discover by a fresh Instance, the Spirit of Impudence and Imposture that appears even in the most Inconsiderable things that pass through the hands of a certain sort of men, I would not have put Pen to Paper. For as I do not find that Dr. B's Reputation is concerned in any thing that is contained in these Reflections, so if it were, these Gentlemen know sufficiently well, that he is of Age, and can answer for himself.

I cannot easily imagine why the Reflector has set down the Abstract, which the Learned men of *Leipsic* gave of the Doctor's Travels, unless it was to let the World see how many matters were treated of in his Letters, to which the Reflector has not a word to say : for he touches on a very small number of those which are mentioned in those Contents which he produces. The only reason I can imagine, is, because it is an easier thing for the Reflector to Copy than to Compose : so he found a shift to swell his Book Nine and Twenty Pages more by that means, which in a Book of One Hundred and Sixty Four Pages was no small Article. It was fit to make a show with a Book of some bigness, since bulk makes an impression on some People.

People: yet these Gentlemen might have known by this time, that how *Implicite* soever the multitude may be on their side, yet on our side the World is not so tame, but that People will both read and consider, before they can be brought to believe, especially a set of men who have entertained them with Imposture upon Imposture for some Years past. I confess, I believe few will be carried so far on this occasion, as to read and consider these Reflections, since the things appear so trivial at first view: and with relation to the Doctor's Travels, it is of no small credit to them, that he having adventured to publish so particular an account of many things so soon after he had seen them, there has not been the least attempt made to discover the falshood of any one thing in that Book. It was too much read in *England*, for them to pretend that they despised it: For though our Reflector says, that presently upon its appearing in *England*, it was *suppressed*, we all know the contrary; and that no Book of that Nature has had in our time so great and so quick a Sale as it had. The chief matters in it were of that Nature, that if the Doctor had abused the World, it had been easie to have discovered it in an authentical manner. It is known, that his Book has been seen in the chief Cities of *Italy* now above a Twelve-month; and the Persons concerned, have had it in their power to undeceive the World. It is also no Secret, that any discovery that had been

much to the Doctor's prejudice, would have made a matter of no small merit; and the things that he has told us of those parts, were too sensible, and have made too great an impression on the Nation, to have been let alone so long, if the clear Evidence of Truth had not maintained the Book hitherto. But one would be tempted to think, that the *Reflector* thought it was necessary to give it a new lustre, by making so feeble and so unsuccessful an attempt upon it. It had gained Credit enough already, and wanted not this addition; but some Men seem to lie under a Curse, and in every thing that they undertake to work counter to the true Interest of the Cause; which if it is bad of it self, it is certainly in as bad hands; and is managed as if its Enemies gave secret directions for every step that is made in it.

1. Art.

Dr. B. had given an account of that famous Silver Shield at *Lions*, of Two and Twenty Pounds weight, that seems to represent that famous Action of *Scipio*, in restoring a fair Captive to a *Celtiberian* Prince. Upon this our Author bestows Three Reflections: *First*, He says, Mr. *Spon*, who has writ a Discourse concerning that piece of Plate, calls it but One and Twenty Pounds. *Secondly*, The Doctor ought to have called it not simply a *Shield*, but a *Yorive Shield*, since otherwise a Reader has a great reason to doubt of it: for no man can use a Shield of that weight, for the defence of his Body.

And

And to beautify this Reflection, he cites some Authorities of the Ancients, to prove that they had such *Votive Shields*; and because a Print makes a deep Impression on weak People, he give us one. Now, the Reader must know that he cites not these from his own reading, but though in other places he dares not tell us out of what Modern Author, he drew his Quotations, yet here he is so honest as to tell us, that he gives us his Authorities from Mr. *Spon* and Mr. *Saumaïse*. Thirdly, He excepts to Dr. *Burnet's* saying, that the *bas reliefs* of this Shield, seem'd to represent *Scipio's* generous Action, as if in this the Doctor claimed the Honour of this Conjecture; and because the word *seems* was doubting, our Author gives us one Citation out of *Livy*, three Pages long, containing an Account of *Scipio's* Action, and another of Mr. *Spon's*, and to all he gives us a Print of the Shield, and so here ends his first Reflection.

But if the Doctor writ down in his Table-book Two and Twenty for One and Twenty, here is no designed Error at least; and I have been told by those who have seen the great Print of that Shield, made by Mr. *Mey*, its owner, that it calls it at the bottom Two and Twenty Pounds weight.

2. The Doctor choosing to write True *English*, he could not call it a *Votive Shield*, because *Votive* is not *English*. All Readers, except such as our Reflector, must know, that it was a Shield intended for a Memorial in some Temple, and
could

could not be intended for Defence. And it is plain that Dr. Burnet knew that Mr. Spenser writ so learnedly of it, that he thought fit only to name it, and so he did not stay to explain it, for he does not seem to be so much in love with Copying as the Reflector is. 3. The Account that the Doctor gives of that which is represented in it, plainly shews, that he rather goes to the Opinion of others, than that he pretends to give one of his own: And if our Reflector is angry at the Doctor's reservedness, in not being positive, but saying only, it *seems*; he ought to know, that though such Men as he is, are apt to determine very readily, yet Men of more Learning and Judgment bring themselves to an habit of speaking of most matters with a due reserve in their Expressions. I acknowledge that Conjecture which Mr. Spenser gives, *seems* so well grounded, that few things of that Nature are better. But since History is so defective, who knows but some other Roman General might in imitation of Scipio, have done somewhat like that in Gaul, the Memory of which is preserved in this Shield; and this might have fallen out in Provence, and so the Shield might have been found at Avignon? I do not say that this is true, but to be sure it is possible: and therefore since there is no Inscription to be seen on the Plate, it cannot be denied but that the Doctor writ with due caution, when he said, that it *seemed* to represent that Action. So if our Author is not more

successful

successful in his following Reflections than in this First, on which he bestows Ten Pages, I do not see that the Reputation of the Doctor's Learning or Vertue is like to suffer much by the attempt he has made upon it.

He reflects on the Doctor for saying, that this Shield is *Irvaluable*; and yet for adding, that if there were an Inscription upon it, to put us beyond doubt, or conjecture, it were yet more *Inestimable*, as if here were an accumulation of Infinites, *Irvaluable*, and yet more *Inestimable*.

But the most that this can amount to, is a carelessness of Stile, which in an Epistolar work is thought, to have a peculiar Grace; and if the Reflector understood the prices at which things of that nature go, he would know that the general Phrase concerning them, is, that they are *Irvaluable*; For they having little of intrinsic value, the price is set on them rather according to the Wealth and the Curiosity of the buyer, than by any certain Standard; so though the Value of this piece of Plate is such, that one does not know to what price it ought to be raised, yet after all, an Inscription would still carry this indeterminate Notion of its vast value much higher.

The Doctor gives us a Conjecture upon an odd Expression in an Inscription at *Lions*, with the modesty

3. Art.

that

that became him in so doubtful a thing; and this the Reflector may differ from him as much as he thinks fit; but to be sure his Exposition is the most ridiculous thing that is possible: *Qua cum Nimia pia fuit: facta est Impia*; who while she was good (not to dispute with him about Nimia) was pious, she became Impious. There is nothing here to knit the one to the other, or to imply, in opposition to (Nimia) her Riches, that made her Pious, what it was that made Impious. But here our Author produces many Capitals, and some Inscriptions: This he thought was great, and might look like a Man of Learning to those who do not know how easily these things are pickt up from second hand. Yet our Reflector is willing to make a Christian of the Man, founded upon this Reason, because the Inscription ends *sibi vivo ponendum curavit*. This, according to what is common in many Inscriptions, is to be translated thus, *and he ordered this (Tombstone) to be placed for himself during his Life-time*. But our Author puts a weighty Scruple here: He cannot think that he was to have gone in alive to the Tomb; and that it was some Vault, in which he intended to retire as to a *Catacomb*. I do not envy our Author the Glory of this Learned Conjecture: But he forgets that this was dedicated, *D. M.* that is, *Diis Manibus*. Now, though perhaps a sort of Christians of later date, would make no scruple to use Dedications of this Nature, yet that did not agree with the strictness

of the Primitive Christians. As for his denying that the Inscription is *vivo*, and pretends, from Gruter, to say it is *vivus*, and from his own happy Invention, that it must be *vivas*; in this case I take leave to believe the Doctor, who saw it, and says, he copied it, better than Gruter, who saw it not, but had it sent him from another; or our Author, whose fruitful Imagination is not yet of Credit enough with me to ballance an Eye-witness.

The Doctor gave us a correction of a Passage in *Vegeliu*, which does 4 Art. not please our *Reflector*, who assures us, that the Reading that the Doctor explodes, instead of being common, was only in that Edition of *Paris*, when a certain Author writ, that was made in the year 1511. at which time I believe there were very few different Editions of that Author; but, though I do not love to reckon up Editions, yet all the Modern ones that I have seen, are according to that which is censured by the Doctor; so it seems the *Paris* Edition, though it was at first singular, yet has carried it since in all the succeeding Editions. But the *Reflector* seems to have some advantage, since the common *Cubits*, according to *Vitruvius's* measure, are only a Foot and an half, and therefore the reading of Three *Cubits* must be false, since the next Line says, that the Soldiers height was to be of Six Foot, or very near it, and by consequence, they could not be of Three *Cubits* height,

height, which is but Four Foot and an half. perceive our Author has, at least, read *Dictionaries*, if he has not read good Authors; in particular, that most Learned and Ingenious Discourse of Dr. *Cumberland's*, concerning the ancient measures. Now if he had examined the different sorts of Cubits, either in that Noble Essay, or in other good Authors; or if he had sought for it in *Greek* or *Latin* Dictionaries, he would have found, that as the common Cubit was indeed only a Foot and an half, so there was another Cubit that was Two Foot: and thus this Reflection sinks to the Ground, and here the *Reflection* Learning ends; For though a variety of Books could furnish him a few Quotations, yet where a little Judgment was to come in, and furnish him with matter, he runs so low, that my Corrections hereafter will be much shorter.

The Doctor had said, that the
 § Art. p. 33. *Bailiages* of *Bern* were courted, perhaps, with as much *Intrigue* as was ever used among the *Romans* in the distribution of their Provinces; upon which the Reflection made, is, that the *Romans* spared no wicked Plots, and other Practices, for obtaining their Provinces; therefore he thinks it is extream ridiculous to compare the Practices in *Bern* to these. But if the Doctor had said, That the Citizens of *Bern* had used as much *Intrigue* and *Violence* as the *Romans* did, the Reflection had been just: but now there is no room for it, since the Doctor
 speaks

speaks only of *Intrigue*, which signifies only re-
med practices, and the arts of management,
which may appear as remarkable in small as in
great matters.

Dr. B. had said, That some
new Fishes appearing of late in 6. Art. p. 37.
the Lake of Geneva, was imputed
to divers Reasons, which he names: But the
Reflector tells us, That the Rusticks, which dwell
near the Lake, are at a certain time of the year
obliged to sling in certain Vessels full of sundry
sorts of Fishes. Here indeed the Doctor ap-
pears extreamly to blame that he did not keep
more Company with the Boors; and one would
judge by our Author's breeding, and way of
writing, that he had spent much of his time
among them. But after all, unless these Boors are
obliged to go to the neighbouring Lakes, and to
bring Fish from them, it does not appear how
the Fish of Lakes, at a considerable distance,
should be brought into the Lake of Geneva.

Dr. B. had corrected a Vulgar
Mistake, that represents the *Rhofne*, 7. Art p. 38.
as running through the Lake un-
mixt, at which the *Reflector* is very angry; and
to confute the Doctor, he cites a long passage
out of Mr. Spon, which says indeed, That at
the entry of the *Rhofne* into the Lake, and at
its issue out of it, the course of the *Rhofne* ap-
pears clearly; yet he plainly confirms what
the Doctor said, which is, that through almost
the

the whole length of the Lake one cannot distinguish the *Rhosne* from the Lake, neither by its situation nor its Colour, which is the very thing the Doctor said, That it did not run *through* unmixed, as some Travellers had fondly imagined. For *through* it imports from the one end to the other.

The Doctor had commented
 8 Art. p. 42. the real Charity of those in Zurich who took care of their Poor, without building Magnificent Palaces for them, which he represents as a Vanity that is too generally affected elsewhere. And here the *Reflector* fell out into great anger, and thinks that no good man can pardon such Malignity. Here is a common place on which he thought to shew his force; and I dare say the poor man has done his best; and so I leave him. But as I had enough to do to read what he writ on this Head, so I can assure him I will not venture on answering such stuff.

Dr. B. gave us an account
 9 Art. p. 43. some Letters he saw at Zurich, from England, concerning the Dispute in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, relating to the Habits of the Clergy, in which it is said, by some of the Bishops, that *Cramer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits; on which our Author bestows this Judicious Reflection, That *Cramer* died before Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown;

if those Letters that were writ Ten years
 after his death, might not have mentioned an In-
 jury which he had, though he died before he
 could excute it.

Our Author finds fault with the Doctor's say-
 ing, That the Observation which he made on
 the various readings of that Verse in St. John's
 Gospel, may seem too Learned, as if this were
 setting an high value on his own Learning. Yet
 these Books of Travels are writ for all sorts of
 Readers, it seemed necessary to make some excuse
 for setting down some Observations that belonged
 more properly to a Treatise of Divinity. But the
 malice of our *Reflector* is too heavy, and his Rail-
 lery is too dull to stand on either of them.

Our Author has a long Discourse
 concerning that Passage, the mean- 12. Art. p. 45.
 ing of which I do not understand.

It is certain from St. *Jerome's* Preface, that he
 restored it, having found it struck out in the
 Copies that the *Arrians* had vitiated; and there-
 fore those *Bibles* which have his Prefaces, but
 have not that passage, must owe that defect on-
 ly to the negligence of the Copiers, since, if
 they copied his *Bible* truly, they must have co-
 pied that passage, which, according to that Pre-
 face was certainly in it. All our Author's Re-
 flection seems to amount to this, That St. *Jerome*
 was exact, that so he might discover the Cheat
 of the *Arrians*, but not that he had actually
 done it: and so he seems to conclude that the
 pas-

passage was not in his *Bible*. This is worthy of our Author, and I leave him the honour of it.

The Doctor had said, The
12. Art. p. 49. *I finish my Account of Zurich,*

three or four lines after that he ends his Letter in these words, *And I will break off.* Here comes an Reflection on the Doctor's pride and haughtiness and his maintaining of falsities; and that neither believes nor desires that any other should credit what he says, unless he twice repeat it. If one asks, why so much wrath? It amounts to this, that the Doctor first says, he will finish his *Account of Zurich*, and then, that he will put an end to his Letter. And this to him seems so nauseous a Repetition, that it stirred up all his Choler in him. Certainly he is the tenderest stomached person that ever was. But I leave it to the Physicians; for such stuff as this shews how much he needs their help.

The Doctor dated his Letter
13 Art. p. 50. from *Zurich*, as he did the other from *Millan, Florence, Rome* and *Nimeguen*, at which our Author is extremely easie: For if you but tread hard near a sick man, you discompose him quite. He finds false passages in some of the Letters, that shew, that the Doctor had seen the places which are mentioned in his following Letters, when he wrote the former. And indeed if the Doctor had

Observations into so many Letters, and had the Dates only at pleasure, I do not see any mischief in it. He might also have writ Letters in those places from which he dates, and yet have added passages that belonged to the things which occurred to him, in other places, and I see no great hurt in all

The Doctor had mentioned the *Switzers* throwing off the *Austrian* 14. Art. p. 52. *German* Yoke; upon which *Reflector* triumphs, as if the Doctor had represented the *Switzers* as oppressed at the same time by Two Nations. But though the Archbishops of *Austria* were their Immediate Lords, yet they were likewise Members of the *German* Empire; and the *Switzers* having not only shaken off the Tyranny of the *Austrians*, but having likewise separated themselves from the *German* Empire, and formed themselves into a Free and Independent Commonwealth, the Doctor had not expressed that matter, if he had not made mention of the *German* Yoke, as well as of the *Austrian*.

And thus I have examined all that is Reflected in the Doctor's first Letter, and have found, that as every one of the Particulars is ill-grounded, so if every one of them were acknowledged to be well-grounded, there is not one of them that leaves the least Reflection on the Doctor's Vertue and Sincerity; the uttermost to which

which they can amount being to discover neglect in the Doctor's way of expressing self. But even in that I have made it clear, the Doctor writ with more exactness than first view, perhaps, every Reader might imagine.

Dr. B. had said, that the
15. Art. p. 57. nants of St. Emerita's Veil, were shewed him at Coire, are pretended to have been saved out of Fire, looked as if the burning had not been Month old; at which the *Reflector* laughs, as ridiculous, since by this the Doctor seems to judge of Ashes, how long ago they were burnt, but the Doctor only speaks of the pieces of Linnen: And certainly it is no hard thing, looking on a piece of Linnen-cloth, that is burnt all about the edges, to judge whether it is fresh and lately burnt, or not. He concludes this Article, after some coarse Raillery, that fears that it will be said, both of him and Doctor, That *too much Learning had made both mad*, I dare say every body will be of opinion, that he is not far from being *mad*. But unless he gives other Proofs than appear in his Book, I am very confident no Body will ascribe the cause of it to too much Learning.

The Doctor had mentioned
16. Art. p. 59. the Archdukes of *Inchspruck*, which the *Reflector* runs down according to his Talent of Raillery, as if the

no such Archduke. One should have expected, that if the Reflector knew any thing, should have appeared in matters that relate to *Germany*, where the Branches of the Great Family, though their Dignity is really no other than that of the Great Family from which they are derived, yet they carry their Title in common appellation from the Principality which falls to their share: So all the Branches of the Family *Saline*, are known by the Titles of *Zweyburg*, *Landen*, *Valden*, &c. So the Dukes of *Lamberg* are distinguished by the Titles of *Cell* and *Wasser*: So the present regnant Family of *Styria* was distinguished Sixty years ago by that of the Archduke of *Gratz* and *Leopold*: This Emperor's Uncle was known by the distinction of the Archduke of *Inchspruck*, though the dignity in itself was that of *Austria*, with the distinction of *Inchspruck*.

The Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth centuries, are such strains that I will not meddle with them. He who thinks it worth his while, to see to what a degree the stupidity of the *Austrian* can carry him, may consult the Reflections on himself, and he will soon see, that what reason ever there may be to conclude the Reflector mad, there is no reason to think that it flows from much Learning.

Our Author cannot comprehend why the *French* concerned themselves with the passes of the

20. Art. p. 62.

Alps;

Alps; and he thinks, that though the *Venetians* were concerned in it, yet the *French* had nothing to do with it. But if he does not know, that the *French* did interpose in that matter, he is Ignorant of the History of this Age, as he is of all other things: and if he does not apprehend how they were concerned in that matter, it is not to be wondered at, if a man of his small Capacity should not understand how the *Mars* of holding the ballance, of weakening an Enemy, and of a Superior Power's being always ready to run to the aid of an Inferior, should have governed the Councils of *France*. Certain a man that cannot comprehend this, should meddle with somewhat else than Politics.

The rest of the Reflections, on to the Thirtieth, which comprehend all the Doctor's Second Letter, are strains so worthy of their Author, that it were too great an abuse of the Reader's patience to examine them.

The Doctor tells us, that
31. Art. p. 80. *Venetians* are willing to keep the quarrels among the Nobles of the Conquered Cities; and in opposition to this, our Author very judiciously cites *la Haye*, to prove that the *Venetians* study to keep down all Factions among their own Nobility; and if the Nobles of *Venice*, and the Nobles of the Conquered Cities, were the same.

The Two and Thirtieth and Three and Thirtieth Articles are left to the Reader.

The Doctor had said, That the Arsenal of Venice, was the only 34. Art. p. 84:
 that they had: whereas the Reflector says, they have Two others in the City it self; but he is only at the pains to name that of St. Mark's Palace, which is indeed called the Little Arsenal, and is only a Repository of some few Arms, that is of no considerable moment; but since the Reflector named Two in Venice, besides the great one, he should have told us where the other was.

The Five and Thirtieth and Six and Thirtieth Articles, are Remarks of so great Solidity, that I leave them to the Reader, who will see how weightily he contradicts the Doctor, particularly in the Six and Thirtieth.

The Doctor had told us, that an Eminent Man at Venice said to 37. Art. p. 86:
 him, That he did not think the Church believed Transubstantiation: but in opposition to this, the Reflector tells us, that he saw a Letter of Olearius's, which asserts, that they do believe it. But what is this to the Doctor? What he says may be very true, though Olearius was of another mind: Nor is Olearius of such authority in matters of this nature, that his Opinion must determine the Point: but the Reason is considerable that the Doctor's Author gave him, which was the want of Respect in the Church to the Sacrament, since their not adoring it seemed a great Evidence that they could not believe

believe *Transubstantiation*. This Reason from much more convincing than *Olearius's* Authority.

The Eight and Thirtieth Article is left to the Reader, to judge of the *Reflector's* strength from it.

The Doctor, after he has mentioned that unequal marriage of one of the *Cornara's*, goes on to speak of the greatness and pride of that Family in general. But the *Reflector*, to give us a taste of his Sincerity, knits these Two together, and says the *Pride* of the *Cornara's* was by reason of *the mother's birth*, which plainly belongs to another matter. Besides that, the Doctor tells us, that *Cornara Piscopia* was none of the great Families that Name.

The Doctor had shewed the Inconveniences of the Honours of the Doge of *Venice*, which were such, that some of the greatest Families declined it, and yet the Grandeur of it was such, that the greatest part of the best Families courted it extremely. Upon which the *Reflector* accuses him, as having contradicted himself: but it must be a degree of dullness or malice peculiar to him, that makes him find a Contradiction between these Two Assertions, That the greatest part courted it, though some declined it.

The Doctor had said, That when a Duke is chosen, all his Family must retire out of the Senate.

enate: But the *Reflector* lays a judicious Note on this, and says, This is only true, with relation to the Brothers and Children. So if the Doctor meant the word *Family*, in that which is its natural sense, then here is no difference at all: but if *Family* is to be taken in the larger sense, for the whole Tribe, even thus supposing that *Amelot* is to be believed against the Dr. it amounts to no more, but that the Doctor did not distinguish the sense of the word *Family* Critically.

The *Reflector*, without citing his Author for it, pretends, 42. Art. p. 93. that no *Doge's* can be Crowned, and that the Inquisitors made a Decree against it. But when this is acknowledged to be true, it does not contradict that which the Doctor had said, and only proves, that he did not know all the Constitutions of that Republic.

The Three and Fortieth Article is left to the contempt of the Reader; and in the Four and Fortieth the *Reflector* runs out into a commendation of the *German* Nation, in which I know no man that will contradict him. I am sure Dr. B. says nothing to the contrary, though all the World knows, that the general Character of the *German* Women, is, that they are good House-wives, and that they do not amuse themselves with a general Conversation, as the *French* and *English* Women do; for which the Doctor is so far from censuring them, that he commends them for it.

The Doctor had shewed upon 45. Art. p. 97. what Reasons he judged that the Secular Inquisitors of *Venice*, was a great advantage to that Body, against which the Reflector argues. But as the Doctor gave his opinion, so it is free for the Reflector to give his; and it is also free for the Reader to pass a judgment on both. The Reflector is resolved to let the world see in so short an Essay, that he is equally unhappy in all the Subjects which he undertakes.

Any Reader, unless he is as dull as 46. Art. p. 103. our Reflector, will clearly perceive the difference that the Doctor puts between the *Court of Inquisition*, and the *Secular Inquisitors of Veniae*, but nothing is clear to one whose Talent is a composition made of dulness and malice.

The Seven and Fortieth, Eight and Fortieth, and Nine and Fortieth Articles, are left to the Readers judgment.

The Doctor had said, speaking 50. Art. p. 108. of *Ferrara*, that one might conclude it was extream poor, by the meaness of its Churches, and their want of Ornaments; and that one might take the measure of the Wealth of any place in *Italy* from the Churches. Upon this the Reflector finds a Contradiction between this and the Remark that the Doctor made on the poverty of *Milan*, notwithstanding the vast Riches that appear in the Churches:

But

But on the one hand, according to the Doctor's Observations, one may conclude where he sees poor Churches, that the Town is poor; yet it does not follow, that where the Churches are rich, the Town must be rich: On the contrary, it must be poor, in proportion to the excessive Wealth that is found in the Churches.

The Doctor had taken notice of the meanness of the Libraries of § 1. Art. p. 110; Italy, and yet the *Reflector* finds that he mentions Four good ones; and this he thinks a Contradiction. But it is plain, the Doctor is speaking of the Libraries in the Monasteries; and Three or Four is so small an Exception, that in such a number they deserved not to be named: And though the Doctor mentions several *Italians* with much respect, as men of Learning, yet that does not contradict what he says in general of the decay of Learning among them, though there are some Exceptions to be made; and even these owe the Reputation in which they are, perhaps to the Ignorance of those about them, at least in a great measure.

The Doctor mentions the Reflections that *Magliabecchi* made § 2. Art. p. 113: on the Library-Keeper of St. *Lawrence's* at *Florence*, which puts the *Reflector* all in fire against the Doctor, as base, dissingenuous, and ingrateful; whereas the Doctor says nothing of himself, but only repeats what another had told him.

The Three and Fiftieth Article is not meddled with, as a great many others are passed over, for a Reason that is not too much to the advantage of the *Reflector*, among whom the Four and Fiftieth Article is also to be reckoned.

If any has a mind to see how
55. Art. p. 121. well the *Reflector* understands Politics, he may be at the pains to read this Article; for I dare say no body will be at the pains to prove against him, that an Elective Prince ought not to be Absolute. And for his Learned performance, in proving, that the Popedom ought not to be Hereditary, I dare say, that he is the first man who ever thought it was a point that needed so much proof; for his Invention is so copious here, that he bestows six or seven Arguments making out that wise Aphorism of his.

He quarrels with the Doctor
56. Art. p. 125. for saying, That the Pope has an Insatiable Desire of heaping up Wealth; and thinks that the Doctor contradicts himself, since he owns, that he has not enriched his Family, and that he has sent great Sums to support the War against the *Turk*. But *Sixtus* the Fifth laid up a vast Treasure, though he gave none of it to his Family; and why may not the present Pope be of the same Temper? and his laying out money may well consist with his laying up of Wealth besides.

Upon the Doctor's naming the
 recent Caps, the *Reflector* tells us 57. Art. p. 127.
 what all the *Gazets* told us long
 ago, how these are now disposed of: And after
 such a Confutation, who can suppose that the
 Doctor can ever shew his face any more?

The Doctor told us of a *Pasquin*
 that appeared upon *Molinos's* busi- 58. Art. p. 128.
 ness, upon which the *Reflector* passes
 this Censure, That he has found the same *Pas-*
quin in a Book Printed One Hundred and Forty
 Years ago. But does that shew, that it is im-
 possible that the same *Pasquin* might have appear-
 ed again upon a New Occasion?

The Doctor had, from the fresh-
 ness of the Painting that is in the 59. Art. p. 129.
Catacombs of *Naples*, concluded, that
 the Paint could not have been done while the
 place was imployed for burying. But the *Reflector*
 cannot comprehend, why the Painting, which
 the Doctor believes may be Six Hundred Years
 Old, may not be much Ancienter. Yet if he
 knew any thing of the Remains of Antiquity, he
 would know, that though there are many Pieces
 of Painting of Six Hundred Years Old, there
 are none of the time of the Ancient *Romans*. But
 the chief Reason that the Doctor gives, that
 the Painting could not have been done while
 Bodies were buried there, is, That the Steams,
 occasioned by the Corruption of so many Bodies,
 must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours:

This

This seems convincing; but our *Reflector* thought not fit to take notice of it. His Conjecture concerning the Letters which the Doctor saw on those Walls, shews how happy a Critick he is, and what great Discoveries may be expected from him, if he would be at the pains to write upon Old Inscriptions; For a man that will make a Sentence that plainly ends in *Greek*, begin in *Latin*, is like to afford us many new Readings.

The Sixtieth and Sixty First Articles, are left to the Reader's Censure.

The Doctor's Inference from 62. Art. p. 134. Pope *Martin's* Confirming the Council of *Constance*, seems well grounded; For if he was not Infallible, his Successors, to this day, are not; and if he was, then from that Infallibility we must conclude, That the Confirmation which condemns the Infallibility, is likewise an Infallible Decision: But our *Reflector*, after a little heavy Raillery, in which he is always unhappy, thinks to turn the matter thus, Either Pope *Martin* was Fallible or Infallible; if Fallible, then the Decision is of no force; if Infallible, then so were all his Predecessors. But though the Pope was Fallible, the Decision is strong against that See, and against his Successors, though it does not make the Decision Infallible, by Vertue of any Authority that he could give it. So that this makes clearly against the Pretensions of that See.

The Sixty Third Article is very material. The

Reflector tells us, that the person whom the Doctor calls the Pope's Steward, was his *Major Domo*. Now when he gives us a more proper *English* word for *Major Domo* than Steward, he may censure the Doctor as defective in our Tongue.

The Sixty Fourth Article pretends to find a Contradiction between the Doctor's calling the

P. 136.

Pope's Government severe, and his commending the Regularity that is now at *Rome*, as if Vice could not be punished, and the Subjects be oppressed at the same time.

The Sixty Fifth Article is left to the Reader, so is the Sixty Sixth; for they are Strains so well becoming our *Reflector*, that I confess I can say nothing to them.

The Sixty Seventh is pretended to be a Contradiction to what

P. 139.

the Doctor had said of the Queen of *Sweden*, as having the best Court of Strangers in *Rome*; and yet he says of the Dutchess of *Bracciano*, that the best Assembly of Strangers that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians*, is in her Court. Now except the *Reflector* can prove, that the Queen of *Sweden* is an *Italian*, here is no Contradiction; for it is plain, that the Doctor means, that the Queen of *Sweden*'s Court is the best Assembly of Strangers that is in *Rome*; and that the Dutchess of *Bracciano*'s is the best of all the Assemblies that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians* in *Rome*.

The

The Sixty Eighth, Sixty Ninth, and Seventieth Articles, are again left to the Reader's Censure; only in the Seventieth Article an Error of the Press, *Places* being by all appearance, instead of *Palaces*, seemed to give him some small Colour for fixing a little Censure, though even without that Correction, the sense will appear clear enough.

Our *Reflector* doubts if Cannon was brought before *Morat*; by which he shews how well he knows the History of Gunpowder and Cannon, since he does not think they were found out in the end of the Fifteenth Century.

The Seventy Second Article is a worthy one, I mean, worthy of the *Reflector*.

The *Reflector* laughs at the Doctor for telling the World, That the *Lutherans* pay no sort of Religious Respect to the Images that they have in their Churches, as if this was so well known, that it was needless to tell it. But though the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*, in that point, is well known yet it was not impertinent to inform the World, that the people followed that point of their Doctrine, since we know, that in the Fifth Century, the Worship of Images was as much disowned as it can be by the *Lutherans*; and yet we see, that in *Gregory the Great's* time, the People in many places began to worship them.

The Doctor describing *Spire*, tells us
74. Art. p. 149. That one of the Prebendaries was, according to the *German* Custom, a man of greater Quality than Learning; Upon which the *Reflector* falls on him in great wrath as if he had reproached the *German* Nation for want of Learning; and with an equal measure of Ignorance and Impudence, he spends several Pages in refuting this Calumny. But the Do

nor left no Reproach on that Great Nation; he reflects only on the Constitution of their Chapters in all the great Sees of *Germany*, in which, Birth is the most necessary and indispensable of all other Qualifications.

The Doctor is most solidly confuted in the Seventy fifth Article.

The Doctor had said, That the Elector *Palatine* was as Absolute as any Prince of 76. Art. p. 155. the Empire; Upon which the Reflector labours to prove that other Princes are as Absolute as he is; but this does not contradict the Doctor, unless he proves, that some other Princes are more Absolute; for that is all that the Doctor denies. Besides, many Princes of the Empire are bound to govern their Countries by the Assembly of the States, to which the Elector *Palatine* is not subject.

The Reflector does not believe that the Elector *Palatine* is designed in the 77. Art. p. 157. Publick Prayers *their Sovereign*; since, besides other sad stuff, he says, there is no word in the *German Language* that imports that. But the *French* have a Church in *Heidelbergh*, where the Doctor might well have heard the Elector prayed for, and named *their Sovereign*, which, as I am told, is the common Form there.

For the Seventy Eighth and Seventy Ninth Articles, that relate to the Golden Bull, they are the only Errors that I know in all the Doctor's Letters; for it is certain, that the Original of the Golden Bull in *Latin*, is in *Frankfurt*. There is also a Great Parchment that contains a Translation of it into *Dutch*; and that is commonly shewed to the *German Travellers*. But men who are more curious, may also see the Original. So it seems the Doctor's Guide in *Frankfurt*, knew not of any other Copy but that Great Parchment, which is in *High Dutch*: So that in this point the Dr. was not at pains enough to be rightly informed.

The Eightieth Article runs on the same mistake that appeared in the Seventy Sixth, where the Dr. had not said

Said, that the Elector *Palatine* was more *Absolute*; but only as *Absolute* as any Prince in Germany: And so this is not contradicted by his saying, that the Elector of *Mentz* is an *Absolute* Prince.

The Eighty First Article is another strain of the Reflector's Malice. The Dr. found, having been in the Palaces of Four of the Electors, that there was much form, and a great deal of ado to come within their Courts. But in contradiction to this, the Reflector tells us of the Magnificence, and easier access that one finds in the Courts of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh*; yet the Dr. notwithstanding this, might have made his Remark, though perhaps he had done better to have restricted it to these Courts which he saw.

And now we are come to the last, which 82. Art. p. 163. is no small comfort, when one is engaged to deal with so much weakness and folly.

The Reflector quarrels with the Dr. for telling us, that the Medals found at *Bon*, were believed to be made about four or five hundred years ago; and he cannot fancy how that could be known. But in this the Dr. affirms nothing himself; he only tells us what he had from others; and I do not see why this should offend the Reflector, unless he was beforehand resolved to take every thing amiss that should come from the Dr.

The Conclusion has nothing in it that is good, but that it is short. The Reflector makes an excuse for the flatness of his Book, which was no less than was needful, if he could have found a good one; but he comforts himself with this, That he had rather that Wit should be wanting to Truth, than Truth to Wit; but I can assure him, both are equally wanting here. And if he yeilds that there was Wit in the Doctor's Book, I am sure he has not brought any one Article against him, in which he has so much as pretended to shew any want of truth. So that it must be confessed, that since he yeilds the Doctor Wit, Truth belongs also to him in as eminent a degree as it is wanting to the Reflector.

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THREE
LETTERS
Concerning the
Present State
OF
ITALY,

Written in the Year 1687.

-
- I. *Relating to the Affair of MOLINOS,
and the QUIETISTS.*
II *Relating to the INQUISITION, and
the State of Religion.*
III. *Relating to the Policy and Interests
of some of the States of ITALY,*
-

Being A SUPPLEMENT to Dr.
BURNET'S LETTERS.

Printed in the Year 1688.

LETTERS
THREE

1912

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A

LETTER

Writ from

ROME,

To one in *Holland*, concerning the

QUIETISTS.

S I R,



Our desire of being informed particularly by me, of the state of *Religion* and *Learning* in *Italy*, and chiefly here at *Rome*, has quickened my curiosity, and has set an edge upon a humour that is of it self Inquisitive enough: and tho I am not so much in love with writing, as to delight in transmitting you long Letters, yet I find I have matter at present for a very long one; briefly in that which relates to the *Quietists*: for you observe right, that the short hints that *Dr. Burnet* gave of their matters in his Letters, did rather increase the curiosity

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osity of the *English*, than satisfy it. He told as much as was generally known in *Rome* at that time, concerning them; but as a longer stay might have discovered more particulars to him, so there have fallen out since that time such new and surprising accidents, that there is not more hearkning after new *Evidence* in *England*, upon the breaking out of *Plague*, than there was at *Rome* upon the Imprisonment of so great a number of persons in *February* and *March* last; the number alone of 200 persons, was enough to raise a great curiosity; but this was much encreased by the quality of the Persons that were clapt up, who were both for Rank, for Learning, and for Piety, the most esteemed of any in *Rome*. So I was pusht on by my own curiosities, as well as by your Entreaties, to take all the pains that was possible for me to be well informed of this matter. The particular Application with which I had read some of the Books of Devotion writ in this method, and the pleasure, and, I hope, profit, that I had found in it, made me still the more earnest to know this matter to the bottom. It is true, it was hard to find it out for those who have been in *Rome*, know with how much caution all People there talk of matters that are before the *Inquisition*: those are like the Secrets of state elsewhere: of which a man cannot talk much without

incurring some Inconvenience; and there is no Inconvenience that is more terrible at Rome than the falling into the hands of the *Inquisitors*: for besides the Danger that a man runs, if the suspicions are well founded, the least ill effect that this must have, is the cutting off all a mans hopes of Preferment; for what a Suspicion of *High Treason* is elsewhere, the Suspicions of *Heresy* is at Rome; and where there are many Pretenders, and there is so much to be expected, you may imagine that Hope and Fear working at the same time so powerfully, it must be very hard to engage such persons as probably know the secret of things, to trust themselves upon so tender a point, to strangers. The truth is, Learning is so low in *Italy*, and the Opinion that they have of the Learning of *Strangers*, chiefly of *Hereticks*, is so high, that they do not willingly enter either on Subjects of Learning or of Religion with them; and on the other hand a *Stranger* and a *Heretick*, who is considered as a *Spye*, or a fair Enemy at best, will not find it convenient to thrust on such subjects of conversation, as are tender and suspicious. All this is to prepare you for a relation which you will perhaps think defective, yet is as full as I could possibly gather, out of all the Hints and Informations that some moneths stay at Rome procured

The first thing that surprises a *stranger* in *Rome*, is the very unequal mixture of *Wealth* and *Poverty*, that he sees here, as well as in all the parts of *Italy*; yet it is more conspicuous here, than elsewhere: for as the *Wealth* of the *Churches*, *Places* and *Convents* is astonishing, so the *Poverty* of the *Inhabitants*, and the meanness of the ordinary *Buildings*, is extremely unsuitable to the magnificence of the other. When a man sees what *Italy* was an Age or two ago, not to go back so far as to remember what *Rome* was once, he can hardly imagin how such a fall, such a dispeopling, and such a poverty could befall a *Nation* and *Climate*, that Nature has made to be one of the richest of the world, or of *Europe* at least; if the *PRIESTS* had not at the same time a secret to make the *Nation* miserable, in spite of all that Abundance with which Nature has furnished them. They were not able to withstand even an ordinary *Enemy*, and it can scarce support it self. Those *Italians* that have seen the *Wealth* and Abundance that is in *England* and *Holland*, tho their *Sun* is less favourable, and their *Climate* is more unhappy, and that come home to see their *Towns* deserted, and their *Inhabitants* in Raggs, speak of this sometimes with an Indignation that is too sensible to be at all times kept within bounds. They speak of the difference between *Holland* and

Concerning the QUIETISTS.

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Italy like men affected when they compared the two soils and Climates together. The one is a soil divided between sand and turf, preserved from the Inundations of Land-floods, and the overflowing of the sea, at a vast Charge, suffering often such losses as would ruin other states, and paying great and constant impositions: and yet with all these Inconveniences, and all the disadvantages of a feeble sun, a stagnating and phlegmatick Air, violent Colds, and moderate, or at least very short Heats, this Countrey is full of Wealth and People; and there is in it such an abundance of great Towns and considerable villages, and in all these there appear so many marks of plenty, and none at all of Want: and the other has a kind sun, long and happy Summers, and mild Winters: a fruitful and rich soil, and every thing that the Inhabitants can wish for on Natures part, to render them the Envy of the World: whereas they are become the Scorn and contempt of all that see them. And as much as the Dutch seem to have acted in spite of Nature on the one hand, in rendring themselves much more considerable than she has intended they should be; so the Government of Italy seems to have reserved the design of Nature as much on the other hand, by reducing the Inhabitants to such a degree of Misery, in spite of all her Bounty: upon this subject

the *Italians* will talk more freely than upon matters of *Religion*: and do not stick to say, that it flows from the share that *PRIESTS* have in the Government, and that not only in the *Popes Territory*, but in all the other *Courts of Italy*, where they have the main stroke. They will tell you, that *Priests* have not Souls big enough, nor tender enough, for Government: they have both a narrowness of spirit, and a sourness of mind, that does not agree with the Principles of human Society: Their having so short and so uncertain a time of governing, makes them think only on the present, so that they do not carry their prospect to the Happiness of, or misery that must be the consequences of what they do, at any considerable distance of time: nor have they those Compassions for the Miserable with which wise *Governours* ought to temper all their Counsels; for a stern sourness of temper, and an unrelenting hardness of heart, seems to belong to all that sort of *men in Italy*. Whatsoever advances their present Interests, and enriches their families, is preferred to all wise, great or generous counsels. Now tho the *Natives* dare not carry this matter further, yet a *stranger*, that thinks more freely, and that has examined matters of Religion, in a more Inquisitive manner, sees plainly that all these errors in Government, are the effects

effects of their *Religion*, and of that authority which they believe is lodged in the *Pope*, chiefly, and of which every *Priest* has so considerable a share, that he is easily able to make himself master of every mans Conscience that lets him into it, and that believes those three great branches of their power: that they can pardon their sins, make their God, and secure them both from Hell and Purgatory. These are things of such a mighty operation, that it is not easily to imagine how they should be so easily believed, yet supposing once the belief of them, all other things flow very naturally from thence: men are not convinced of these errors till it is too late to come and undeceive others. It is true, many of the *Italians* believe these things as little as we do; yet this is in them rather an effect of a loose and libertine temper, than of study and enquiry, in a *Countrey* where not only *Heretical books* would endanger a man, but the bare reading even of a *Latin New Testament* would give some suspicion. But the thinking men among them are led to doubt of all things, rather from a principle of *Atheism*, than of searching into matters of Controversy: the one is much less dangerous there, than the other would be. And indeed as soon as a man becomes a little familiar with any of the men of freer thought here, he will soon see that the belief of their *Religion* has

very little power over many of those who are the most zealous to support it, only because their Interest determine them. When a man has lived some time at *Rome*, and has known a little of the Mysteries of the *Conclave*, with the *Character* both of the present and the late *Popes*, particularly the weakness and Ignorance of him that now reigns, who does not so much as understand *Latin*; when a man sees how matters are carried in that *Court*, what are the *Maxims* they go by, and the *Methods* that they take; when he sees what a sort of man the *Cardinals* are, men indeed of great Civility, and of much Craft; but as to the matters of *Religion*, men of an equal life both of Ignorance and Indifference: when a man sees how all preferments are obtained, but chiefly how the *purple* is given, and how men rise up to the *Triple Crown*: when, I say, a man has seen and observed all this a little, he cannot wonder enough at the *Character* that so great a part of the World sets on that *Court*. The plain and simple Arguments of Common sense work so strong, that *Transubstantiation* it self is not harder to be believed, than that this man is Christ's *Vicar*, a man of *Infallibility*, and the source or channel at least of divine truth. So that a man that has given himself the opportunities of observing these matters Critically, will feel a persuasion of the falsehood of those pretensions formed so deep in him, that all the Sophi-

stry of Argument will never be able to overthrow it: for the plain sense of what he has seen will apparently discover the delusion of those Reasons, which perhaps he is not learned enough to answer: for let men say what they will, it is no easy matter to believe in a Contradiction to the clear Evidence of sense: and I cannot make my self so much as doubt, but that as *Cato* was wont to wonder how it came that every one of the *Heathen Priests* did not laugh when he saw another of the *Trade*, so the *Cardinals* when they look on one another, and a *Pope* even as Ignorant a one as the present *Pope* is, when he receives the submissions that are offered him by all who are of that *Communion*, must laugh within himself when he sees how lucky that Imposture is, which has subdued the World into so much respect for him, and to so great a dependance on him. A man who sees all these things upon the place, and is of an Age capable of making solid Reflections, and has a due portion of Learning, must return amazed, not so much at those who being already under the *Yoke*, have neither knowledge nor courage enough to shake it off, nor at those who go into it because they find their account in it, and so hope to have a good share of the spoil, as at those who have shaken off the *Yoke*, and have got into more Liberty and more Knowledge, and feel the happy Influence of their deliverance even in their

Civil Liberties and other *Temporal Concerns*, if they should ever come so much as to deliberate whether they ought to return and serve their old and severe *Masters*, or not. For my part, I speak freely to you, that I could sooner bring my mind to believe that there is no such thing as *Instituted Religion*: and that it is enough for men to be just and honest, civil and obliging, and to have a general reverence for the *Deity*, than ever to think that such *Stuff* as the *men* of the *Mission* would impose on the World can be true. Chiefly in that part of it which relates to the *Popes Authority*, after all that I have seen and known.

You will perhaps think, that this is a long digression, or at least a very improper introduction to that which I told you I would offer to you, since the relation that all this has with the matter of the *Quietists*, does not appear to be so very proper. Yet you will perhaps change your mind, when I tell you, that the *Miseries of Italy*, that the *Aversion* that all men of sense there have to the *Artifices* of their *Religion*, and chiefly to the conduct of the *Regulars*, and above all, of the *Jesuites*, is believed the true reason that led such numbers of *men* of all sorts to be so favourable to *Molinos*: to which this was rather to be ascribed, than to any *Extraordinary Elevation of Piety or Devotion*, of which

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so little appears in that Country, that nothing which touches only upon that Principle can have great effects among them. Men that are sick, turn to all sorts of remedies: and those who are discontented, do naturally go into every new thing that either promises relief, or that wounds those that displease them. The present state of things in *Italy* being such as I have described it, you need not wonder to find so many ready to hearken after any thing that seemed both *new* and *safe*. For as the Novelty gave that curiosity which might draw in many, so the safety that seemed to be in a Method of Devotion in which so many of the Canonised *Saints* had gone before them, and which appeared at first authorised by the Approbation of so many *Inquisitors*; made them apprehend that there could be no danger in it. In the recital that I am to give you, I do not pretend to tell you all the whole affair: nor will I assure you of the truth of all that you will find here. For in matters of this nature, in which Interest and Passion are apt to work so strongly, there are alwayes so many false Reports spread, and matters are so often aggravated on the one hand, and diminished or denied on the other, that I will not say but there may be some things here that upon a stricter inquiry will perhaps appear not to be well founded; yet of this I will assure you

you very positively, that I have Invented and added nothing my self. I leave those arts to the *Italians*, and the *Court of Rome*: therefore I will tell you things nakedly and simply, as I found them, without adding so much as one Circumstance out of my own Invention. I also made as much use of my Judgement as was possible for me to do, both in considering the Circumstances of those with whom I talked on those heads, and the things themselves that they said to me; so I let pass all that seemed to be the effect of Passion or Prejudice, and only marked down that which seemed to be true, as well as that which I had from men who I had reason to believe. My *Informers* were men of Probity and of Sense; they were not indeed easily brought to talk of this *Subject*, and they spoke of it with great Reserves: so that there may be many defects, and possibly some mistakes in the account that I am to offer you; yet you must be contented with it; for it is all that I could gather; and it is not corrupted with any mixture of my own.

Michael de Molinos is a *Spaniard*, of a good and Opulent Family. He entred into *Priests Orders*, but had never any Ecclesiastical *Benefice*: so that he seemed to have dedicated himself to the service of the *Church*, without designing any Advantage by it to him-

himself. He passes in *Italy* for a man both of *Learning* and of good *Sense*. His course of life has been exact, but he has never practised those *Austerities* that are so much magnified in the *Church of Rome*, and among the *Religious Orders*: and as he did not affect to practise them, so he did not recommend them to others; nor was he fond of those poor *Superstitions* that are so much magnified by the trafficking men of that *Church*. But he gave in to the Method of the *Mystical Divines*, of which, since your studies have not perhaps lien much that way, I shall give you this short account.

That sublime, but mysterious way of *Devotion*, was not set out by any of the first *Writers* of the *Church*; which is indeed a great Prejudice against it: for how many soever they may be, who have followed it in the latter Ages, yet *Cassians Collations*, which is a work of the middle of the fifth Century, is the antientest Book that is writ in that strain: For the pretended *Denis the Areopagite* is now by the consent of all learned men thought no Elder than the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth Century. Yet after these *Books* appeared, very few followed the elevated strains that were in them: The latter was indeed too dark to be either well understood or much followed. So that this way of *Devotion*, if it was practised in

in Religious Houses, yet was not much set out to the World before S. Bernard's time, whose melting strains, tho a little too much labour'd and affected, yet have something in them that both touches and pleases: after him many began to write in that sublime strain; such as *Thauler*, *Rusbrachius*, *Harpheus*, *Suso*, but above all *Thomas a Kempis*. And when for some considerable time that way of writing was discontinued, it was again rais'd up in the last Age, with much lustre by S. Teresa; and after her by *Beltasar Alvarez a Jesuit*: And as *England* produced a *Carthusian* in King Henry the sixths time, one *Walter Hilton*, who writ the *Scale of Perfection*, a Book inferior to none of these I have cited, and more simple and natural than most of them; so of late *F. Cressy* has publish'd out of *F. Baker's Papers*, who was a *Benedictine*, a whole body of that method of Divinity and Devotion. The right notion of this way of Devotion is somewhat hard to be well understood, by those who have not studied their *Metaphisicks*; and is entangled with too many of the terms of the School; yet I shall give it to you as free of these as is possible.

With relation to Devotion they consider a man in three different degrees of Progress and Improvement: the first is the *Animal* or the *Imaginative* state: in which the Im-

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pressions of Religion work strongly upon a mans Fancy, and his sensitive Powers: this state is but low and mean, and sutable to the Age of a Child; and all the *Devotion* that works this way, that raises a heat in the Brain, tenderness in the Thoughts, that draws Sighs and Tears, and that awakens many melting *Imaginations*, is of a low form, variable, and of no great force. The second state is the *Rational*, in which those Reflections that are made on Truths, which convince ones *reason*, carry one to all sutable Acts, this they say is dry, and without motion: It is a Force which the Reason puts upon the Will, and thupon a great Variety of Motives, and many *Meditations* upon them, the mind goes thro a great many Performances of *Devotion*, yet this is still a Force put upon the will. So they reckon that the third and highest state is the *Contemplative*, in which the Will is so united to God, and overcome by that Union, that in one single Act of *Contemplation*, it adores God, it loves him, and resigns it self up to him: and without wearying it self with a dry multiplicity of *Acts*, it feels in one Act of Faith more force than a whole day of Meditation can produce. In this they say that a true *Contemplative Man*, feels a secret Joy in God, and an acquiescing in his Will; in which the true Elevation of *Devotion* lies; and which is far

far above either the heats of *Fancy*, which accompany the *first* state, or the Subtilty of *Meditation*, that belongs to the *second* state: and they say, that the perfection of a *Contemplative* state above the others, appears in this, that whereas all men are not capable of forming lively *Imaginations*, or of a fruitful *Invention*, yet every man is capable of the simplicity of *contemplation*: which is nothing but the silent and humble adoration of God, that arises out of a pure and quiet mind. But because all this may appear a little intricate, I shall illustrate it by a similitude, which will make the difference of those three states more sensible. 1. A man that sees the exterior of another, with whom he has no acquaintance, and is much taken with his face, shape, quality, and meen, and this has a blind prevention in his favour, and a sort of a feeble kindness for him, may be compared to him whose *Devotion* consists in lively *Imaginations*, and tender *Impressions* on his lower and sensible Powers: 2. A man that upon an acquaintance with another, sees a great many reasons to value and esteem, both his parts and his Vertues, yet in all this he feels no inward Charm that overcomes him, and knits his soul to the other; so that how high soever the esteem may be, yet it is cold and dry, and does not affect his heart much, may be compared to one whose *Devotion* consists in many Acts, and much

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Meditation. But 3dly, when a man enters into an entire friendship with another, then one single Thought of his Friend, affects him more tenderly, than all that variety of reflections, which may arise in his mind, where this Union is not felt. And thus they explain the sublime state of *Contemplation*. And they reckon that all the common methods of *Devotion*, ought to be considered, only as steps to raise men up to this state: when men rest and continue in them, they are but dead and lifeless Forms; and if they rise above them, they become Clogs and Hinderances, which amuse them with many dry Performances, in which those who are of a higher Dispensation will feel no pleasure nor advantage. Therefore the use of the *Rosary*, the daily repeating the *Breviary*, together with the common *Devotions* to the *Saints*, are generally laid aside by those who rise up to the *Contemplative State*, and the chief business to which they apply themselves, is to keep their Minds in an inward Calm and Quiet, that so they may in silence form simple Acts of Faith, and feel those inward Motions and Directions which they believe follow all those who rise up to this Elevation. But because a man may be much deceived in those Inspirations, therefore they recommend to all who enter into this method, above all other things, the choice of a *Spiritual Guide*, who

who has a right sense and a true taste of those matters, and is by Consequence a Competent Judge in them.

This is all that I will lay before you in general, for giving you some taste of *Molinos's* Methods; and by this you will both see why his *Followers* are called QUIETISTS, and why his *Book* is Entituled *il Guida Spirituale*. But if you intend to Inform your self more particularly of this matter, you must seek for it, either in the *Authors* that I have already mentioned, or in those of which I am to give you some account in the sequel of this Letter. *Molinos* having it seems drunk in the principles of the *Contemplative Devotion* in *Spain*, where the great Veneration that is payed to *Saint Teresa* gives it much reputation, he brought over with him to *Italy* a great Zeal for propagating it. He came and settled at *Rome*, where he writ his *Book*, and entred into a great commerce with the *men* of the best Apprehensions, and the most Elevated thoughts that he found there. All that seemed to concur with him in his design for setting on foot this sublimer way, were not perhaps animated with the same principles. Some designed sincerely to elevate the World above those poor and trifling *Superstitions*, that are so much in vogue, among all the *Bigots* of the Church of *Rome*, but more particularly in *Spain* and *Italy*, and which

which are so much set on by almost all the *Regulars*, who seem to place *Religion* chiefly in the exact performing of them. It were thought that others entred into the design upon more Indirect motives. Some perhaps from the aversion that they bore the *Regulars*, were disposed to entertain every thing that might lead mens *Devotions* to other Channels, and to a conduct different from that prescribed by *Friers* and *Jesuites*. Some perhaps had understanding good enough to see the necessity of correcting many things in their Worship, which yet they durst not attack as simply unlawful: So that it might appear more safe to expose those things to the Contempt of the World, by pretending to raise men far above them: and thus they might have hoped to have Introduced a *Reformation* of many Abuses without seeming to do it. In *fine*, some who seemed to enter into this matter, were men that aspired to fame, and hoped by this means to raise a Name to themselves; and to have a Party that should depend upon them: for in such great numbers as seemed to embark in this design, it is not to be imagined that all were acted by the same motives, and that every man had as good Intentions as it is probable *Molinos* himself had.

In the year 1675. his *Book* was first published with *five Approbations* before it. One
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of these was by the *Archbishop* of *Rheggio*; another was by the *General* of the *Franciscans*; who was likewise one of the *Qualificators* of the *Inquisition*: another was by *Fa. Martin de Esparza* a *Jesuit*, that had been *Divinity Professor* both at *Salamanca* and at *Rome*; and was at that time a *Qualificator* of the *Inquisition*. As for the rest, I refer you to the *Book* it self. The *Book* was no sooner printed, than it was much read and highly esteemed both in *Italy* and *Spain*. It was considered as a *Book* writ with much *Clearness* and great *simplicity*; and this so raised the *Reputation* of the *Author*, that his *Acquaintance* came to be generally much desired: those who were in the greatest credit in *Rome*, seemed to value themselves upon his friendship. Letters were writ to him from all places: so that a correspondence was settled between him and those who approved of his *method* in many different places of *Europe*. Some secular *Priests* both at *Rome* and *Naples* declared themselves openly for it: and consulted him as a sort of an *Oracle* upon many occasions. But those who joyned themselves to him with the greatest *Heartiness* and *Sincerity*, were some of the *Fathers* of the *Oratory*, in particular three of the most *Eminent* of them, who were all advanced at the last promotion of *Cardinals*, *Coloredi*, *Ciceri*, but above all *Petrucci*, who was accounted his *Timothy*. Many of the *Cardinals* were also

observed to court his Acquaintance: and they thought it no small Honour to be reckoned in the number of *Molinos's* Friends. Such were *Cassanata Azolini* and *Carpegna*; but above all *Card. d'Estrees*. The last you must needs know, is a man of great Learning: he was Ambitious to be thought a *Reformer* of some of those Abuses, which are among them, that are too gross to pass upon a man of his freedom of spirit; who had been bred up in the *Sorbon*, and had conversed much with *Mr. de Launay*. He therefore seemed the most zealous of all others to advance *Molinos's* Design: so that he entred into a very close commerce with him. They were oft and long together: and notwithstanding all the distrust that a *Spaniard* has naturally of a *Frenchman*, and that all men have of one another, who have lived long at *Rome*, yet *Molinos*, who was sincere and plain-hearted, opened himself without reserve to the *Cardinal*: and by his means a Correspondence was settled between *Molinos* and some in *France*: for tho the spirits of those of that *Nation* go generally too quick for a way of *Devotion*, that was settled and silent, yet some were strongly inclined to favour it even there. Perhaps it might be considered as a method more like to gain upon *Protestants*, and to facilitate the Design of the *Re-union*, that was so long talked of there. All these things concurred to raise *Molinos's* Character,

racter, and to render his person so considerable. When the *Pope* that now reigns, was advanced to the *Throne*, which was, you know, in the year 1676. that he took most particular notice of him: and made it Visibly apparent, that even in all that Exaltation, he thought it might contribute to raise his *Character*, if he were considered as a friend of *Molinos's*, and an Encourager of his Design: For he lodged him in an Apartment of the *Palace*; and put many singular Marks of his Esteem on him. This made him become still the more Conspicuous, when he had the advantage of *Favour* joyned to his other Qualities; tho he neither seemed to be fond of it, nor lifted up with it. His Conversation was much desired; and many *Priests* came not only to form themselves according to his *Method*, but to dispose all their Penetents to follow it: and it grew to be so much in vogue in *Rome*, that all the *Nuns*, except those who had *Jesuites* to their *Confessors*, began to lay aside their *Rosaries*, and other *Devotions*, and to give themselves much to the practice of *Mental prayer*. This way had more Credit given to it by the translation of a *French Book*, that was writ upon the same subject, which Cardinal *d'Estrees* ordered to be made. It was writ in the form of a *Dialogue*, and was printed in *France* in the year 1669. by the *Approbation* of some of the *Doctors* of the *Sorbon*. I am able to give you no other account

ment of the Author, but that in the Italian Translation he is called *Francis Malleualla*, blind Clergy-man. The Book being chiefly formed upon the model of *S. Terefe*, the Translation of it was dedicated to the *Discalgones Carmelites* of her Order. This did not contribute a little for raising the credit of *Molinos's Method*, since it appeared to be approved both in *Italy, France* and *Spain*. At the same time *Fa. Petrucci* writ a great many *Letters* and *Treatises* relating to a *Contemplative State*: yet he mixed in many of them, so many Rules relating to the *Devotions* of the *Quire*, that there was less occasion given for censure in his *Writings*: They are a little too tedious; but they were writ chiefly for *Nuns* and others, that perhaps could not have apprehended his meaning aright, if he had expressed himself in a closer stile, and in fewer words. Both the *Jesuites* and the *Dominicans* began to be alarmed at the progress of *Quietism*: they saw clearly, that their trade was in a decay, and must decay still more and more; if some stop was not put to the progress of this *new Method*: in order to this, it was necessary to decry the *Authors* of it: and because of all the Imputations in the world *Heresy* is that, which makes the greatest Impression at *Rome*, *Molinos* and his followers were given out to be *Hereticks*. It being also necessary to fasten a particular Name

Name to every new *Heresy*, they brand this with the Name of *Quietism*. Books were also writ by some *Jesuites* against *Molina* and his Method; in which there appeared much of that Sourness and Malignity that was thought to be peculiar to the *Society*; they were also writ with their usual candor and sincerity. One of the Fathers *Segueri* took a more dextrous Method to decry it. He began his Book magnifying the *Contemplative State* highly, as Superiour to all others, and blaming those who had said any thing that seemed to detract from it: yet he corrected all this, by saying, that very few were capable of it, and that none ought to pretend to it, but those who were called by God to so sublime a State: and by this he seemed only to censure the Indiscretion of those *Spiritual Guides*, who proposed this way of *Devotion* to all persons, without distinction. He also believed, that such as were at some time called to it, could not remain long in so high a state, to which God called men rather in some happy Minutes, than for a longer continuance: therefore he thought that such persons as were raised to it, ought not to fasten that they were now got so far above all their former helps, as never to need them any more: so he proposed to them the accustomed themselves still to *Meditation*, and to support themselves by that when they could

contemplate. He censured severely some of *Molinos's* expressions, such as that, *He who had God, had Christ*; as if this were an abandoning of *Christ's* Humanity: he also insisted much on that of a *fixed looking on God*, and the *suspending of all the Powers of the Soul*: but that on which he insisted most, was, that *Molinos* (whom he never named, tho he cited his Words, and described him very plainly) made the *Quiet of Contemplation* to be a *State* to which a man could raise himself; whereas he maintains, that in this *Quiet the Soul is passive*, and as it were in a rapture; and that she could not raise her self to it, but that it was an *Immediate and Extraordinary Favour*, which was only to be expected from *God*, and which an humble mind could not so much as ask of him.

These Disputes raised so much noise in *Rome*, that the *Inquisition* took Notice of the whole matter: *Molinos* and his *Book*, and *F. Petrucci's Treatises and Letters*, were brought under a second and severer Examination; and here the *Jesuites* were considered as the Accusers. It is true, one of the *Society*, as was formerly told, had approved *Molinos's* Book; but they took care that he should be no more seen at *Rome*: for he was sent away, and it is not known whither, it is generally believed that he is shut up within *Four Walls*; but what truth soever may be in

that, he is no more visible, so careful are they to have all their *Order* speak the same Language; and if any speak in a different stile from the rest, they at least take care that he shall speak no more; yet in this *Examen* that was made, both *Molinos* and *Petrucci* justified themselves so well, that their Books were again approved, and the Answers which the *Jesuites* had writ, were censured as scandalous: and in this matter *Petrucci* behaved himself so signally well, that it raised not only the Credit of the Cause, but his own Reputation so much, that soon after he was made *Bishop* of *Iessi*. which was a new Declaration that the *Pope* made in their Favours: their Books were now more esteemed than ever, their Method was more followed, and the Novelty of it, the opposition made to it, by a *Society* that has rendred it self odious to all the World, and the new *Approbation* that was given to it after so vigorous an Accusation, did all contribute to raise the Credit and to encrease the numbers of the Party.

F. Petrucci's behaviour in his *Bishoprick*, contributed to raise his Reputation still higher, so that his Enemies were willing to give him no more Disturbance; and indeed there was less occasion given for Censure by his *Writings*, than by *Molinos's* little Book; whose succinctness made that some Passages were not so fully nor so cautiously expressed,

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but that there was room for making Exceptions to them: on the other hand, *Petrucci* was rather excessively tedious, so that he had so fully explained himself, that he very easily cleared some small difficulties that were made upon some of his *Letters*: In short, every body was that thought either sincerely devout, or that at least affected the Reputation of it, came to be reckoned among the *Quietists*: and if these persons were observed to become more strict in their *Lives*, more retired and serious in their mental *Devotions*, yet there appeared less *Zeal* in their whole deportment as to the exterior parts of the *Religion* of that *Church*. They were not so assiduous at *Mass*, nor so earnest to procure *Masses* to be said for their Friends: nor were they so frequently either at *Confession* or in *Processions*: so that the Trade of those that live by these things was sensibly sunk: and tho the new *Approbation* that was given to *Molinos's Book* by the *Inquisition* stopt the Mouths of his Enemies, so that they could no more complain of it, yet they did not cease to scatter about Surmises of all that sort of men, as of a *Cabale*, that would have dangerous consequences; they remembered the story of the *Illuminated Men* of *Spain*, and said, here was a Spawn of the same Sect: they insinuated, that they had ill Designs, and profound Secrets among them; that these were in their

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Hearts Enemies to the *Christian Religion*: and that under a pretence of raising men to a most sublime strain of *Devotion*, they intended to wear out of their minds the sense of the Death and Sacrifice of *Christ*, and of the other Mysteries of *Christianity*: and because *Molinos* was by his birth a *Spaniard*, it has been given out of late, that perhaps he was descended of a *Jewish* or *Mahometan* Race, and that he might carry in his Blood, or in his first Education, some seeds of those *Religions*, which he has since cultivated, with no less Art than Zeal: yet this last Calumny has gained but little credit at *Rome*; tho it is said, that an Order has been sent to examine the Registers of the Baptism, in the place of his Birth, to see if his Name is to be found in it or not.

Thus he saw himself attacked with great vigour, and with an unrelenting Malice. He took as much care as was possible to prevent, or to shake off these Imputations; for he writ a Treatise of *frequent and daily Communion*, which was likewise approved by some of the most learned of the *Regulars* at *Rome*, among whom one is *Martinez*, a *Jesuite*, the Senior *Divinity Reader* in their College at *Rome*. This was printed with his *Spiritual Guide*, in the year 1675. and in the *Preface* he protests, that he had not writ it with any design to engage himself into mat-
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ters of Controversie, but that it was drawn from him, by the most earnest Solicitations of some Zealous Persons. In it he pressed a *daily Communion*, by a vast number of Passages that he cited both out of the Ancient *Fathers*, and the *Schoolmen*; yet he qualified this and all his other directions in the matters of *Devotion* by that which he constantly repeats, which is the necessity of being conducted in all things by a *Spiritual Guide*: whether he intended to soften the aversion that the *Jesuites* had to him, by refuting some parts of Mr. *Arnaud's* famous Book of *Frequent Communion* or not, I cannot tell, but in this Discourse he answers some of the Objections that Mr. *Arnaud* had made to *Frequent Communion*, and in particular, to that which he makes one main ground of restraining men from it, which was the obliging them to go thro with their Penitence and Mortifications, before they were admitted to the *Sacrament*; whereas *Molinos* makes the being free of *Mortal Sin*, the only necessary qualification. In this Discourse one sees more of a heated Eloquence, than of severe or solid Reasoning: yet it presses the point of *daily Communion*, and of an *inward application of Soul to Jesus Christ, and to his Death*, so vehemently, that it might have been hoped that this should have put an end to those Surmises, that had been thrown out to de-

fame him; as if he had designed to lay aside the Humanity of our Saviour, by his way of *Devotion*: but there is no cure for Jealousy; especially when Malice and Interest are at bottom: so new matter was found for censure in this Discourse. He had asserted, that there was no other Preparation necessary but to be free of *Mortal Sin*: so it was given out, that he intended to lay aside *Confession*: and tho he had advised the use of a *Spiritual Guide*, in this, as well as in all other things; yet the necessity of *Confession* before *Communion*, was not expressed: so that by this people seemed to be set at Liberty from that Obligation: and it was said, that what he advised with relation to a *Spiritual Guide*, lookt rather like the taking some general Directions and Council from ones *Priest*, than the coming alwayes to him as the *Minister* of the Sacrament of *Penance* before every *Communion*; and to support this Imputation, it was said, that all of that *Cabale* had set down this for a Rule, by which they conducted their Penitents, that they might come to the Sacrament, when they found themselves out of the state of *Mortal sin*, without going at every time to *Confession*; but I will not enlarge further upon the matters of *Doctrine* or *Devotion*, in which you may think that I have dwelt too long, for a man of my Breeding and Profession: and I should think so
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my self, if I were not confining my self exactly to the *Memorials* and *Informations* that I received at *Rome*. You will see by the *Articles* objected to the *Quietists*, and censured by one of the *Inquisition*, which I send you with this *Letter*, what are all the other points that are laid to their charge. Only I must advertise you of one thing, that their Friends at *Rome* say, that a great many of these *Articles* are only the *Calumnies* of their Enemies, and that they are disowned by them: but that they have fastned these things on them, to render them odious, and to make them suffer with the less Pity: which is the putting in practise the same *Maximes* which we object to their Predecessors, who condemned the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* of a great many Errors of which they alwayes protested themselves Innocent: yet the Accusing them of those horrid Opinions and Practices, prevailed upon the Simplicity and Credulity of the Age, to animate them with all the Degrees of Rage against a Sect of men, that were set forth as Monsters: the same *Maximes* and *Politicks* are still imputed, and perhaps not without reason to that severe Court, which if you believe many has as little regard to Justice as it has to Mercy. Some have carried their Jealousies so far against the *Quietists*, as to compare their *Maxims* to those of *Socrates* his School, and

his *Followers* after his death, when they saw what his Freedom in speaking openly against the establish'd *Religion* had cost him: they resolv'd to comply with the received Customs in their exterior, and not to communicate their *Philosophy* to the Vulgar, nor even to their Disciples, till they had prepared them well to it, by training them long in the precepts of *Vertue*, which they call'd the *Purgative State*: and when men were well tried and exercis'd in this, then they communicated to them their sublimer Secrets: the meaning of all which, was, in short, that they would not discover their Opinions, in those points that were contrary to the received *Religion*, and to the publick *Rites*, to any, but to those of whom they were well assur'd, that they would not betray them: and therefore they satisfied themselves with having true and just notions of things; but they practis'd outwardly as the Rabble did. They thought it was no great matter what Opinions were entertain'd by them, and that none but men of *Noble* and elevated Tempers deserv'd that such sublime Truths should be communicated to them, and that the herd of the *Vulgar* neither were worthy nor capable of Truth, which is too pure and too high a thing for such mean and base minds. The Affinity of the matter makes me remember a conversation that I once had with one of the wittiest

Clergy.

Clergy-men of France, who is likewise esteemed one of the *Learnedest Men* in it: He said, *The World could not bear a Religion calculated only for Philosophers: The people did not know what it was to think and to govern themselves by the Impressions that abstracted thoughts made on their minds: they must have outward things to strike upon their Senses and Imaginations, to Amuse, to terrify and to excite them: so legends, dreadful stories and a pompous Worship were necessary to make the Impressions of Religion go deep into such coarse Souls: for a Lancet, said he, can open a Vein, but an Axe must fell down a Tree; so he concluded, that the Reformation had reduced the Christian Religion to such severe terms, that among us it was only a Religion for Philosophers: and since few were capable of that strength of thought: he concluded, That if the Church of Rome had perhaps too much of this exterior pomp, those of the Reformation had stript it too much, and had not left enough of garnishing, and of the Bells and Feathers for amusing the rabble. The speculation seems pretty enough, if Religion were to be considered only as a contrivance of ours, to be fitted by us to the tempers and humours of People; and not as a Body of Divine Truths, that are conveyed to us from Heaven.*

Thus was *Molinos's* method censured or approved in *Rome*, according to the different Apprehensions and Interests of those that

made Reflections upon it. But the *Jesuites* finding they were not so omnipotent in this *Pontificate*, as they have been formerly, resolved to carry their point another way. I need not tell you how great an Ascendant *F. la Chaise* has gained over that *Monarch*, that has been so long the *terroure of Europe*: and how much all the *Order* is now in the Interests of *France*. The Zeal with which that King has been extirpating *Heresy*, Furnishes them with abundance of matter for high *Panegyricks*; since that which is the opinion of many will pass down to posterity, for the lasting reproach of a *Reign*, which in its former parts has seemed to approach even to *Augustus's* Glory, but has received in this a stain, which with Indifferent men passes for a blind, poor-spirited and furious *Bigottry*, and is represented by *Protestants* as a complication of as much Treachery and Cruelty as the World ever saw; yet among the *bigots* it is set forth as the brightest side of that Glorious *Reign*: and therefore it has been often cited by them with relation to the cold correspondence that is observed to be between the *Courts of Rome*, and that at *Versailles*, that nothing was more Incongruous, than to see the *Head of the Church* dispute so obstinately with its *Eldest son* such a trifle, as the matter of the *Regale*; and that with so much eagerness; and that he shew'd so little regard to so great a *Monarch*, that seemed to sacrifice

all his own *Interests* to those of his *Religion*: It is believed, that the *Jesuits* at *Rome*, proposed the matter of *Molinos* to *F. la Chaise*, as a fit reproach to be made to the *Pope*, in that *Kings* name, that whilst he himself was Employing all possible means to extirpate *Heresy* out of his *Dominions*. The *Pope* was cherishing it in his own *Palace*: and that while the *Pope* pretended to such an unyielding *Zeal* for the *Rights* of the *Church*, he was entertaining a person who was corrupting the *doctrine*, or at least the *devotion*, of that *Body*, of which he had the honour to be the *Head*. But here I must add a thing which comes very uneasily from me, and yet I cannot keep my word to you, of giving you a faithful account of all that I could learn of this matter at *Rome*, without mentioning it. I do not pretend to affirm it is true, for I only tell you what is believed at *Rome*, and not what I believe my self, nor what I would have you to believe: for I know you have so high an esteem of Cardinal *d'E-press*, that you will not easily believe any thing that is to his *Disadvantage*. It is then said, that he being commanded by the *Orders* that were sent him from the *Court* of *France*, to prosecute *Molinos* with all possible vigour, resolved to sacrifice his old *Friend*, and all that is sacred in *Friendship*, to the *Passion* he has for *His Masters Glory*; finding then that there was not matter enough for an *Accusation* against

against *Molinos*, he resolved to supply that defect himself; so that he, who was once as deep as any man alive in the whole Secret of this Affair, went and informed the *Inquisition* of many particulars, for which tho there was no other evidence but his Testimony, yet that was sufficient to raise a great storm against *Molinos*: and upon this delation, he and a few other of his friends were put in the *Inquisition*; but this was managed so secretly, that all that is pretended to be known concerning it, is, that upon a new Prosecution both *Molinos* and *Petrucci* were brought before the *Inquisition* in 1684. *Petrucci* was soon absolved, for there was so little objected to him, and he answered that with so much Judgment and Temper, that he was quickly dismissed; and tho *Molinos's* matter was longer in agitation, yet it was generally expected that he should have been acquitted. In Conclusion, a Correspondence held by him all *Europe* over, was objected to him: but that could be no Crime, unless the matter of that Correspondence was Criminal: some suspicious papers were found in his Chamber, but as he himself explained them, nothing could be made out of them, till Cardinal *d'Estrées* delivered a Letter and a Message from the King of France to the Pope, as was formerly mentioned: and that the Cardinal added, that he himself could prove against *Molinos*, more than was necessary

cessary to shew that he was guilty of *Heresy*. The *Pope* said not a word to this, but left the matter to the *Inquisitors*: and the *Cardinal* went to them, and gave other senses of those doubtful Passages, that were in *Molinos's Books and Papers*, and pretended that he knew from himself, what his true Meaning in them was. The *Cardinal* owned, that he had lived with him in the Appearances of Friendship: but he said, he had early smelled out an ill design in all that matter; that he saw of what dangerous consequence it was like to be; but yet, that he might fully discover what was at the bottom of it, he confessed, he seemed to assent to several things, which he detested: and that by this means he saw into their secret, and knew all the steps they made, he still cautiously observing all that past among them till it should be necessary for him to discover and crush this Cabal. I need not tell you how severely this is censured, by those who believe it. I would rather hope, that it is not true, how positively soever it may be affirmed at *Rome*; but tho it is hard to reconcile such a way of proceeding with the common rules of human Society and of Vertue, yet at *Rome* a Zeal for the Faith, and against *Heresie*, supersedes all the Bonds of *Mortality* or *Humanity*, which are only the common *Vertues* of *Heathens*.

In short, what truth soever may be in this
par-

particular, relating to the *Cardinal*, it is certain that *Molinos* was clapt up by the *Inquisition* in *May* 1685. and so an end was put to all Discourses relating to him: and in this silence the business of the *Quietists* was laid to sleep, till the ninth of *February* 1687. that of a sudden it broke out again in a much more surprising manner.

The Count *Vespiniani* and his Lady, Don *Paulo Rocchi*, Confessor to the Prince *Borghese*, and some of his Family, with several others, in all 70 persons, were clapt up. Among whom many were highly esteemed both for their *Learning & Piety*. The things laid to the charge of the *Churchmen* were their neglecting to say their *Breviary*; and for the rest, they were accused for their going to *Communion* without a going at every time first to *Confession*: and in a word, it was said, that they neglected all the exterior parts of their *Religion*, and gave themselves up wholly to *Solitude* and *inward Prayer*. The Countess *Vespiniani* made a great noise of this matter; for she said, she had never revealed her *Method of Devotion* to any Mortal, but to her *Confessor*, and so it was not possible that it could come to their knowledge any other way, but by his betraying that *Secret*: And she said, it was time for people to give over going to *Confession*, if *Priests* made this use of it, to discover those who trusted their *secretest* Thoughts to them; and

and therefore she said, that in all time coming, she would make her *Confessions* only to God. This had got vent, and I heard it generally talked up and down *Rome*: so the *Inquisitors* thought it more fitting to dismiss *Her* and her *Husband*, than to give any occasion to lessen the credit of *Confession*; they were therefore let out of prison, but they were bound to appear whensoever they should be called upon. I cannot express to you, the Consternation that appeared both in *Rome* and in many other parts of *Italy*, when in a months time about 200 persons were put in the *Inquisition*: and that all of the sudden, a *Method* of *Devotion*, that had passed up and down *Italy* for the highest Elevation to which mortals could aspire, was found to be *Heretical*, and that the chief promoters of it were shut up in prison.

But the most surprising part of the whole story, was, that the *Pope* himself came to be suspected as a favourer of this new *Heresy*: So that on the 13th. of *February* some were deputed by the Court of the *Inquisition* to examine him, not in the quality of *Christs Vicar*, or *St. Peters Successor*, but in the single quality of *Benedict Odescalchi*: what passed in that Audience, was too great a Secret for me to be able to penetrate into it: but upon this there were many and strange Discourses up and down *Rome*: & while we *Hereticks* were upon that asking, where was the *Popes Infallibility*?

I remember a very pretty *Answer* that was made me. They said, the *Popes Infallibility* did not flow from any thing that was Personal in him, but from the care that Christ had of his *Church*: for a *Pope*, said one, may be a *Heretick* as he is a private man: but Christ, who said to *St. Peter*, *feed my Sheep*, will certainly so order matters that the *Pope* shall never decree *Heresy*, and by consequence shall never give the flock *Poyson* instead of the *Bread of Life*; while the *Popes Heresy* was only a personal thing, it could have no other effect but to damn himself: but if he decreed *Heresy*, this corrupted the whole *Church*: and since Christ had committed all the flock to the *Popes* care, it ought to be believed, that he would never suffer them to pronounce *Heresy ex Cathedra*, as they call it. This had some colour in it, that was plausible: but the shift of which another served himself, seemed intolerable. He said, the *Pope* could never decree *Heresy*: for which he argued thus: he must be a *Heretick* before he can decree it; and upon that he gave me many Authorities to prove, that in the minute that the *Pope* became a *Heretick*, he fell *ipso facto* from his Dignity; and therefore he said the *Pope* could not decree *Heresy*; for he must have fallen from his *Chair*, and have forfeited his Authority, before he could possibly do it; so that he was no more *Pope*. This looks like a Juggle of the *Schools*, that I confess it

made

made no great Impression on me. Imagine
that a thing it would be, to see a *King* accused
of *Treason* by one of his own *Courts*; and then
you have fancied somewhat that comes near
this attempt of the *Inquisition's*: which being
a *Court* authorised by the *Pope*, yet had the
boldness to examin himself; and it had cer-
tainly been an odd piece of News, if upon the
Pope's Answers, the *Inquisition* had stained him
with the Imputation of *Herefy*, and had lodged
him in the *Minerva*. Upon the discourse to
which this gave occasion, I have heard the
authority of the *Court of Inquisition* magnified
to so Extravagant a degree, that some have
asserted, it was in some respects *superiour*
even to the *Pope* himself. Two days after
that, the *Inquisition* sent a Circular Letter to
Card. Cibo, as the chief *Minister*, to be sent
him all about *Italy*, of which I send you a
copy in *Italian*: for tho it ought to have been
written in *Latin*, yet I do not know how it
came to be writ in *Italian*: for the writing it
in the *Vulgar* language, was censured not
only as an Indecent thing, but as that which
made the matter more publick; it was ad-
dressed to all *Prelates*; and it warns them,
that whereas many *Schols* and *Fraternities*
were formed in several parts of *Italy*, in which
some persons under a pretence of leading
people into the *Ways of the Spirit*, and to the
pursuer of *quietness*, they instilled in them many
abo-

abominable *Heresies*; therefore a strict charge was given to dissolve all these *Societies*: And to oblige all the *Spiritual Guides* to tread the known Paths: And in particular, to take care, that none of that sort should be suffered to have the Direction of the *Nunneries*. Order was likewise given to proceed in the way of Justice against those who should be found guilty of these abominable *Errors*. After this a strict enquiry was made into all the *Nunneries* of Rome; for most of their *Directors* and *Confessours* were found to be engaged into the new *Method*. It was found that the *Carmelites*, the *Nuns* of the *Conception*, of the *Palestrina* and *Albano*, were wholly given up to *Prayer* and *Contemplation*, and that instead of the *Beads*, and their *Hours*, and the other Devotions to *Saints*, or *Images*, they were left alone, and oft in the Exercise of *Mental Prayer*: And when they were asked, why they had laid aside the use of their *Beads*, and the antient *Forms*; their Answer was, that the *Directors* had advised them, to wean themselves from these things, as being but *Rough Beginnings*, and *Hindrances* to their further progress: They justified also their Practice from those *Books* that had been lately published by the approbation of the *Inquisition* themselves, such as *Molinos* and *Petrus* Books. When report was made of this matter to the *Inquisition*, they sent Orders to

of the *Nuns* hands all those *Books*, and
 with Forms of *Devotion* as were written in
 that strain; and they required them to return
 them to the use of their *Beads*, and their other
 abandoned *Forms*, which was no small mortifi-
 cation to them. The *Circular Letter* pro-
 duced no great effects; for most of the *Italian*
Monks were either extreemly unconcerned in
 those matters, or were Inclined to *Molinos's*
Heresie: And whereas it was Intended, that
 as well as all the other *Orders* that come
 from the *Inquisition*, should be kept secret,
 it goes abroad, and *Copies* of it were in all
 peoples hands, so that this gave the *Romans*
 more occasion to discourse of these mat-
 ters, which troubled the *Inquisitors* ex-
 tremely, who love not to have the *World*
 mixt into their Proceedings, nor to descant
 upon them: They blamed *Card. Cibo*, as if
 the matter was grown so publick by his means:
 he on the other hand blamed the *Inquisi-*
tion for it, and his *Secretary* blamed both.
 It was also said, that the *Pope* was not plea-
 sed with *Card. Cibo's* conduct, and that he
 thought he had suffered this matter to go too
 far, without giving a check to the *Inquisi-*
tion, when it might have been more easily
 managed; whereas now matters are gone to
 such a height, that many think they cannot
 be brought down without some very great Scandal.
 The *Quality* of the *Prisoners* is considerable;
 some

some of Cardinal Petrucci's Domesticks, both his Secretary and his Nephew were the Number; and tho the Cardinal himself came to Rome soon after, yet he was there for some time *Incognito*. It is generally believed, that both he and the Cardinal Camerlengo and Cardinal Ciceri, who is Bishop of Combray, are in great apprehensions of a storm from the *Inquisition*: And the Ceremony of giving them their *Hats* being so long delayed, is generally ascribed to some complaints that it seems the *Inquisitors* made; yet in Consequence they appeared in *Publick*, and had their *Hats* given them. The Duke of Ceri, Don Livio, that is the Popes Nephew, is believed to be deeply engaged in the matter: for Count *Vespiniani*, who was first seized on, his particular Friend and Favourite: And sort of a Domestick of his. Don Livio himself is likewise a person of a Melancholic Temper, that is much retired; and this present is enough to make a man pass the for a *Quietist*. He went from Rome to his House he has not far from *Civitavecchia*, to avoid, as was thought, the falling into the hands of the *Inquisitors*. The Pope writes for him, before he could prevail with him to return; and it was said, that he did not think himself secure even after all the assurances that the Pope gave him, that no harm should come to him; for it might be just

ough apprehended, that the *Inquisitors*,
had been so hardy as to examine the
would make no Ceremony with his Ne-
if they found matter against him.

But amongst all that were clapt up, Father
Appiani was the man that surpris'd the Ro-
the most: he was seised on the first Sun-
of April; he was esteemed the learnedest
Eminentest *Jesuite* that was in the whole
Colledge. This did not a little mortifi-
the Society; one of their *Fathers* had ap-
proved of *Molinos's* Book, and now ano-
was found to be engaged in this matter:
on which a *Priest*, that was indeed no
friend to their Order, said to me, that this
their true Genius, to have men among them
all sides; that so which side soever pre-
ailed, they might have some among them,
that should have a considerable share in the
honour of the Victorious. And thus if *Mo-*
ni's Method had been established, then
they would have gloried as much in *Esparza*
and *Appiani*, as they are now ashamed of
them. It is likely that they had not discovered
Appiani's favouring the party, otherwise no
doubt they had been before-hand with the
inquisition, and had shut him up as they did
Esparza; and so have covered themselves
from the reproach of having a man that fa-
voured *Heresy* among them. But the Con-
science of that Society is an Original; and since

I have this occasion to mention them, I here digress a little from the business of *Quietism*, to give you account of some of the Practices at Rome, with relation to *English Affairs*, with which I was made acquainted during my stay there.

There is a *Jesuit* belonging to the *English House*, *F. Cann*, well known in *England*, some of his *Writings*, and in particular one against the *Oath of Allegiance*, in which he pleads for the *Popes* Power of deposing *Princes*; it seems he was sorry to see that Discourse which he had writ against the *Oath*, had no better effect, and that the *Papists* generally took it: so he resolved to carry this matter further, therefore as he had no other Character but that of a Brother of the *Society*, he proposed at Rome, that a formal *Oath*, abjuring the *Oath of Allegiance*, should be taken by all who had taken the other; and that for all that should be received to be *Students* in that House, all time coming, they should be bound by *Oath* never to swear the *Oath of Allegiance*. Since he said, a time might come, in which it should be necessary for their Interests, that they should be under no such tie to a *Hetorical Prince*: But because it was not safe for them to enjoyn any new *Oath*, without order from the *Court of the Rota*, according to the Forms there, it was necessary to

sent a Memorial for this: And that ought to
 come from the Protector of the Nation con-
 sidered: So he ought to have addressed him-
 self to Cardinal Howard; but the Cardinal's
 temper, and his principles, with relation to
 Civil Obedience, were so well known, that
 F. Cann thought to carry the business without
 having any share in it. Yet he found him-
 self mistaken; for the Judges of the Rota were
 surprised at the Proposition, and gave notice
 of it to the Pope, who lookt upon it as a
 thing of very bad consequence: And askt
 Cardinal Howard, if it had been set on by
 any direction from him; for it seems his Name
 was made use of, tho without his know-
 ledge. The Cardinal was surpris'd at it, and
 highly resent'd the Impudence of F. Cann:
 He sent a Complaint of it to the General of
 the Society, who, to give the Cardinal some
 content, gave Cann a Reprimand, and sent
 him out of Rome: But the Jesuites carry a
 Grudge in their Hearts to the Cardinal for
 this, and other things: And this appeared
 very visibly during the E. of C. Embas-
 say: For tho he lodged for some time in
 the Cardinal's Palace, yet he gave himself up
 entirely to the Conduct of the Jesuites,
 that the Cardinal was quite shut out of the
 Councils: And while Fa. Morgan came at all
 hours to the Ambassadoir, even in his night
 Gown and Slippers, which was thought
 an

an unusual thing at Rome, where public persons live in an exactness of Ceremonies. Once the *Cardinal* was made to wait in the Antichamber, while the *Father* was with entertaining the *Ambassadour* in this dress, who coming out in it, the *Cardinal* was so provoked at this Indignity, that he did him, and at the *Jesuites* Insolence, he threatened to fling him down stairs, if ever presumed to come within his House again in that Habit: and indeed, a *Cardinal* makes so great a figure in Rome, that such usage of him was thought a little Extraordinary, but the *Cardinal* is of so mild a temper, and the *Jesuites* are so violent, as to be reckoned the *Horns of the Beast*.

But I will now return to the *Queen*, from whom, the particular regard that I bear to the Order of the *Jesuites*, has diverted me so long. The *Prisons* of the *Holy Office* were full, and the Terror of this matter struck so many, that no body could guess when or where it should stop. It is said, that the *Inquisitours* have found in some of their Examinations, that they have to do with men that are learneded than themselves: and that their Prisoners are steady and resolute. It is also said, that their Friends abroad have expressed a great concern for them, and

the cause of their Sufferings, and that many Letters have been writ to the *Inquisitors*, wishing them to consider well what they do to their Prisoners; and assuring them, that they will maintain their Interests: and that they are ready to seal them with their Blood. It is certain, the *Pope* and Cardinal *Cibo* are much troubled, to see that this matter is gone so far, and is now so much talked of. Cardinal *Petrucci* is still much in the *Popes* favour, and was suffered not long ago to go visit *Molinos*, with whom he had a long conversation all alone, but the subject and the effects of it are not known: yet a severe Sentence is expected against *Molinos*. Those that speak the mildest, think he will be a prisoner for life: but a little time will shew more then I can presume to tell you. It is a terrible thing to have the whole body of the *Regulars* against one, who according to the estimate that is made at *Rome*, are about 60000 Persons, and of that number it is said the *Jesuits* make 40000. In the City of *Rome* alone it is believed the *Regulars* and other Ecclesiasticks amount to 25000. so it is very likely, that when such Bodies, and *Molinos* are in the ballance, *Cajaphas's* Resolution may once more take place: It is expedient that a man should die, rather than that those Nations of *Regulars* should perish, or their Trade and Profits be lessned. But to come to an end

the *Inquisitors* have prepar'd the world for any judgments that they may pass in this matter, by ordering one of their number, to draw up a Censure of 19 Articles, which he pretend to have collected out of the *Writings and Doctrines* of the *Quietists*, and thus by representing them so odiously, they have as much as in them lies, prevented those Compassions which may perhaps be kindled by the sufferings of those whom they may condemn as guilty of those censured Opinions. I have now given you all the Informations that I could pick up of this matter, with all possible sincerity; for I have represented this business to you, just as it was set before my self without making any Additions to it, or interposing my poor judgment in such a matter which I leave to you, and to such as you are I conclude, referring you for a further light into this Affair to the Censure of the *Inquisitors*, which I procured in *Italian*, for tho probably it is written Originally in *Latine*, yet I could not get a Copy of the *Latine* Censure and so was forced to content my self with this that follows. It appears by it, how low the study both of *Divinity* and of the *Scriptures* is sunk at *Rome*: some few strictures will be found on the Margin of the *English Translation* of this Censure, which I have added, because some perhaps may desire to see this, who do not understand *Italian*.

THE CIRCULAR LETTER,

That was sent about *Italy*, by the
Order of the *Inquisition*.

Em^{mo} e R^{mo} Sige mio Oss^{mo}

Essendo venuto à notizia di questa Sacra Congregazione, che in diversi luoghi d'Italia si vadi-
no poco à poco erigendo, è forse anche si siano erette
certe Scuole ò Compagnie, Fratellanze, ò Radunanze,
ò con altro nomi, ò nelle Chiese, ò nelli Oratorii, ò
in Case private, à titolo di Conferenze Spirituali, ò
siano di sole Donne, ò di soli Huomini, ò misti, nelle
quali alcuni Direttori Spirituali inesperti della vera
via dello Spirito calcata da Santi, e forse anche
malitiosi sotto titolo d'instradare l'anime per l'Ora-
zione, che chiamano la la Quiete, ò di pura Fede in-
terna, ò con altri nome, benchè dal principio appa-
risca, che persuadino massime d'isquisita perfezione,
ad ogni modo da certi principii mal'intesi, e peggio
praticati vanno insensibilmente instillando nella mente
de' semplici diversi gravissimi errori, che poi abortisco-
no anco in aperte Eresie, & abominevoli laidezze con
discapito irreparabile di quella anime, che per solo
zelo di ben servire à Dio si mettono in mano di sim-
plici Direttori, come pur troppo è noto esser seguita
in qualche luogo. Hanno perciò questi miei
Em. Signori Collegbi Generali Inquisitori stimato

opportuno di significare à V. E. con la presente che si fa circolare à tutti gli Ordinarii d'Italia: acciò si compiaccia d'invigilare sopra qualsivoglia nuove adunanze simili deverse dalle già praticate & approvate ne luoghi Cattolici, e trovandone de tali onninamenti, le abolisca; ne permetta in avvenire che in modo alcuno ne vengano instituite, & insista, che i Direttori Spirituali camminino la strada battuta della perfezione Christiana, senza affettare singolarità di vie di Spiriti, con avvertire sopra tutto, che nessuna persona sospetta di novità simili s'ingerisca à diriggere ne in voce, nè in scritto le monache, acciò che non entri ne' Monasterii quella peste, che pur troppo potrebbe contaminare la spiritual intentione di queste Spose del Signore. Il che tutto si rimette alla prudenza dell' E. V. con che però non s'intenda con quelle provisionali, che ella sarà per fare preclusa la via di procedere, anche per via di giustizia: quando si scoprissero in qualche persona tali errori non escusabili. In tanto si va qui digerendo la materia, per poter à suo tempo avvertire il Christianesimo degit errori da evitarsi. E le Bacio, 15 Febraii, 1687.

THE
CIRCULAR LETTER,
Put in English.

Most Eminent, or Most Reverend Lord:

THIS Holy Congregation, having received Advertisment, that there are some

in diverse places of *Italy*, that by little and little are erecting, or perhaps that have already erected, some *Schools*, *Companies*, *Fraternities*, or *Assemblies*, under some other Denomination, either in *Churches*, *Chappels*, or in private *Houses*, under the pretence of *Spiritual Conferences*; and these consisting either only of *Women*, or only of *Men*, or of both *Sexes* together, in which some *Spiritual Guides*, that are unacquainted with the true way of the *Spirit*, in which the *Saints* have trod, and that are perhaps men of ill designs, do under the pretence of leading *Souls* by the *Prayer of quietness*, as they call it, or of *Pure Inward Faith*, or under any other name, in which tho in the beginning that they carry men, by *Maxims* that are of the highest perfection, yet at last they by certain principles that are ill understood, and worse practised, do insensibly infuse into the minds of the simple, diverse grievous *Errors*, that do break out into open *Heresy*, and to abominable *Practices*, to the irreparable prejudice of those *Souls*, who out of their single Zeal to serve God well, put themselves in the hands of such simple *Directors*, which is too notoriously known to have fallen out in some places. In consideration of all this, my most Eminent *Lords* and *Colleagues*, the *Inquisitors General*, have thought fit to signify this to you, by this *Circular Letter*, which is sent to all the Or-

dinaries of Italy, that so you may be pleased to watch over all such new Assemblies, that are different from those that are practised & approved in other *Catholick* places; and that where you find any such, you abolish them entirely, & suffer them not to be any further advanced; and that you take care that *Spiritual Directors* shall tread in the *beaten Paths of Christian Perfection*, without affecting any Singularity in the *Ways of the Spirit*; and that above all other things, you take care, that no person suspected of these Novelties, be suffered to thrust himself into the direction of *Nunneries*, either by Word or Writing; that so this Pest may not enter within those *Houses*, which may too much corrupt the *Spiritual Intention* of those *Spouses of Christ*. All this is referred to your prudence; but with all this provisional care, it is not to be understood as if hereby the *Proceedings in the way of Justice*, were to be hindred, in case any persons are found to hold inexcusable Errors. In the mean while, care is taken so to digest this matter, that *Christendom* may be in due time advertised of those Errors that are to be avoided.

Rome the 15. of February, 1687.

THE

THE
CENSURE
OF THE

Opinions of the Quietists,
Prepared for the Inquisition.

*Errori principali di quelli, che esercitano
l'Oratione di Quietate, co' le Risposte.*

LA Contemplatione, o vero Oratione di Quietate consiste in costituirsi alla presenza di Dio, con un atto di Fede oscura, pura, & amorosa, e dipoi senza passar più avanti, e senza ammettere discorso, specie, o pensiero alcuno, starsene così otioso; per esser contrario alla riverenza dovuta a Dio il replicare quel purissimo atto, il quale però è di tantomezzo, e vigore, che contiene in se, anzi supera con gran vantaggio tutti insieme li meriti delle altre virtù, e persevera tutt' il tempo della vita, mentre non si ritrae con un atto contrario: Onde non è necessario ricrearlo, è replicarlo.

CENSURA è RISPOSTA.

Ninn' atto di Fede ci costituiffe presenti à Dio, il quale è dentro à noi per indispensabile necessità della sua Immenfità, e però spesso dicevano Elia, Michea, & altri Profeti: *Vivis Deus in cujus conspectu-*

Ho. E con Agostino dicono i Teologi: *In Deo vivimus, movemur, & sumus.* Dunque l'atto di Fede, perche suppone l'essere della Creatura, suppone questa prima nella presenza di Dio, e solamente sarà rassenatione di Spirito nelle braccia dello Divinità. Intorno a questa all'hora sarà contemplatione, quando l'Anima contemplara, e non sarà otiosa, doppo il primo atto di Fede oscura, pura, & amorosa. E poi sarà evidente il dire, che non sono necessarij altri buoni atti. L'Atto buono, per esser finito, e migliorabile, per mezzo della continuatione di simili atti. Ne' la multiplicatione di atti virtuosi e' contrario alla riverenza dovuta a Dio, perche Iddio non si tedia, o impedisce, essendo libero da' ogni passione, & in tanto non conviene replicare atti riverentiali a' Maggiori del Mondo, in quanto, che questi, secondo che porta l'esperienza, sonq alterabili, impedibili, ò tedjabili della vista di simili atti frequentati. L'atto dunque in se stesso buono, moltiplicato sarà un buono maggiore, e pero da Dio approvato, a più remunerabile, che un' atto solo. Nella Contemplatione poi si sta in atto di operare, e non ostinatamente sopra l'attopassato, essendo il Contemplare l'operare mentalmente, ancorche altro ancora vi si richieda.

II. *Senza la Contemplatione, per mezzo della meditatione non può darsi un passo nella Perfettione.*

R. Per meditarfi dal Christiano precisamente la Passione di Christo, si riflette, che per amor dell' Uomo tanto pati un Dio, unde può risolversi a chiamarlo, e volerlo obedire in che commanda, e mettere in pratica (con la gratia di Dio, che sempre e in Noi) tal santa deliberatione. Dunque per mezzo della Meditatione può bene incaminarsi s'Anima alla perfettione. Anzi senza contemplare, e senza meditare, purché s'opri.

sopra secondo li Leggi, con l'ajuto di Dio si può ogn'uno salvare; non si salva poi chi non è perfetto, & Amico di Dio. Dunque è falsissima l'opinione contenuta nel secondo Capo,

III. *La Scienza, e Dottrina anche Teologica, e Sacra, è d'impedimento. è repugnanza alla Contemplatione, della quale non possono dar giuditio gli Huomini Dotti, ma solo li Meditativi, e Contemplativi.*

R. La Dottrina Teologica nosifica stabili in noi l'Oggetto della Contemplatione, che dicono i Quietisti esser la Divina Essenza. Dunque in noi è compatibile con la Contemplatione, alla quale se la Teologia repugnasse l'istesso sarebbe esser Contemplativo è nulla saper d'Iddio Teologalmente, è così Agostino, e gli altri Santi Dottori, e Luminari della Chiesa, perche erano scientifici, si dovrebbero incapaci esser stati della Contemplatione. Il che è falso, imperochè Dio, che institui il Sacerdotio, come Ministero il più degno, non v'è ragione, che habbia voluto i Sacerdoti sia che non i fossero Contemplativi, già che volse col Sacerdotio unita la Scienza, mentre nella Sacra Scrittura minaccio per Osea Profeta a chi disprezzatore della Scienza esultava il Sacerdotio. *Tu repulisti scientiam, & ego repellam te, ne Sacerdotio fungaris mihi.* E tralascio altre Scritture, e ragioni, perche mi viene incaricata la brevità. In quanto poi al che si dice in questo 3. cap. che della Contemplatione non possono dar giuditio li Dotti, si vede apertamente, che l'ignoranza di questi spiritelli senza intelligenza ha una temerità di non volar soggiacere all' emenda, per mezzo dell' Infallibile sentimento de' Scientifici.

IV. Non può darfi perfetta Contemplatione, se non circa la sola Divinità. I Misteri dell' Incarnazione

natione, Vita, e Passione del nostro Salvatore non solo no oggetto di Contemplatione, anzi l'impe discon, onde devono da Contemplativi tenersi lontani; ò solo considerarsi spregiatamente.

R. Se la Contemplatione è un affettione dell'Intelletto, e della Volontà con l'Oggetto, mediante la gratia di Dio, in un raccoglimento di Spirito, potrà la vita di Christo contemplarsi, perchè quella il Christiano può farsi presente in Spirito, & affettive con atto di Fede, & Amore. Aggiungo che se Christo venne à piantar Paradisi in terra per commissione dell' Eterno Padre, come disse il Profeta Isaia, *Posui verbum meum in ore tuo, ut Planes Celos, & fundes terram.* Dove la Parafrase Caldeica così legge: *Ut plantes Celos in terra:* Come dire (si come l'intese Girolamo) che piantasse le contentezze negli Huomini disgratiati per il peccato originale: E se i Contemplativi si portano sopra se stessi alla Consolationi Divine nella loro Contemplativi, perchè si deve disprezzare, e tener lontano Christo, che è l'immediato Datore? Christo non impedisce l'atto del Contemplatione se venne à compartirci perfettioni, e contenti spirituali, che sono il fine de Contemplativi.

V. Le Penitenze corporali, l'austerità della vita non convengono alli Contemplativi, anzi meglio si comincia la conversione dalla vita contemplativa, che dalla Purgativa, e dalle Penitenze, Ancora gli effetti della Divotione sensibile, la tenerezza del Cuore, le Lagrime, e Consolationi spirituali si devono fuggire, anzi dispreggiare da Contemplative, come cose repugnanti alla Contemplatione.

R. Le Mortificationi dispongono lo Spirito, e ciò viva sopra le motioni del senso, e perciò tutti santi cominciarono à viaggiare verso la Perfettione

discipline, Digjant, &c. Dunque se i Contemplativi hanno per fine anco la perfettione, ben li convengono le Penitenze, perche più spedito si renda alla Contemplatione, chi più tiene domate le alterazioni del senso. E se Dio promette nelle Scritture perdono al Peccatore piante, che saranno da lui le colpe, ma in nessun luogo del vecchio, ò nuovo Testamento, per essersi posto nella Contemplatione. Dunque meglio si comincia la conversione dalla vita purgativa, e dalle Penitenze, che dalla contemplatione.

VI. La vera Contemplatione deve fermarsi nella pura Essenza d'Iddio, spogliata delle Persone, e degli Attributi, e l'Atto di Fede di Dio così concepito, è più perfetto, e meritorio di quello, che riguarda Dio con le Persone, & Attributi.

R. Le Persone Divine, e gli adorabili Attributi di Dio hanno la ragione formale d'esser Oggetti di Fede ed Amore nel racoglimento delle nostre potenze, e nella rassegnatione dello Spirito, perche sono verità rivelate, e come Predicati Divini suoni buoni in se stessi, & alle Creature. Donde può darsene vera contemplatione. Che poi l'atto di Fede di Dio senza le Persone, & attributi concepito sia più perfetto, e meritorio di quello, che riguarda Dio con le Persone, & attributi è falsa. Perche se già il credere che Dio sia Uno, e sia giusto è atto di fede perfetto, e meritorio, e credere Dio vero nell'Essenza anco è atto meritorio e perfetto, sarà l'atto con cui si crede Dio vero erino, e giusto, più perfetto, e meritorio d'un altro atto, con cui solamente si crede nno nell'Essenza, perche si merita più per due atti dell'istessa virtù, che per un solo di questi. (Havendoci Dio communicate le virtù supranaturali non per far un atto solo virtuoso, ma per avanzarsi col' esercizio di tali doni) Un' atto di fede, che equi-

Equivale: à due è più meritorio, e perfetto di un solo delli due: onde ben si conclude contra la prima propositione di questo 6. Cap. che la vera, e perfetta contemplatione per essere migliore deve fermarsi nella pura Essenza di Dio, ma questa nella Persone, e negli Attributi,

VII. Nella Contemplatione s'unisce l'Anima immediatamente con Dio, onde non vi si richiede Fantasia, ò Imagini, ò specie di sorte alcuna.

R. Nella Contemplatione ancorche in un certo modo s'unisca l'Anima immediatamente con Dio, ciò è effettive, perche vi concorre l'intelletto a mirar Dio semplicemente, però si richiede qualche specie per facilitare l'intellettuale habilità naturale a portarsi nella consideratione di Dio, servendo la specie per oggetto, e motivo all'Intelletto.

VIII. Tutti i Contemplativi nell'atto della Contemplatione patiscono pene, & angoscie sì gravi, che pareggiano, anzi superano, li tormenti dell'istessi Martiri.

R. Se (come dicono i Quietisti nel primo capo) la Contemplatione consiste nel farsi presente a Dio con un atto di Fede amorosa, e poi starsene in otio, non è formalmente essere tormentato, e patire pene più delli Martiri. E quantunque ad alcuno spesso succeda nella Contemplatione angoscie, e dolori, ciò proviene da' altra causa: ò dal Demonio, permettendolo Dio, ò da' fiachezza di natura, che consuma il Corpo, ò da' motivi di Malenconia, ò da' soverchio sangue, che formottato alla testa caggiona dolore, Ma moltissimi altri si sono visti nell'atto della Contemplatione circondati di luce con fronte serena, e bocca risplendente, come Francesco di Paola fù osservato da Luigi XI. Re di Francia, e finita la Contemplatione

non reftar tutti inondati di allegrezza, perche in quella vennero a vista (semplicemente ben si) li soli, per reftar concertato il Matrimonio fra Dio e l'Anima.

IX. Nel Sacrificio della Messa, e nelle Feste de' Santi, e meglio applicarsi all' atto di pura fede, e Contemplatione, che alli Misteri di esso Sacrificio, o a considerare le attioni, e le cose appartenenti alli medesimi Santi.

R. Vive ingannato chi giudica entrare nella Contemplatione senza buona dispositione dell' Anima; e perche la consideratione delli Misteri della Messa, e dell'esempio de' Santi e preparamento spirituale, ancorche remoto, percio stimarsi deve meglio, prima applicarsi il Christiano alla consideratione de' Misteri della Messa, e delle attioni de' Santi, e poicia darli alla Contemplatione con piu Adobbo nell' Anima.

X. La Lettione spirituale de' libri, le Prediche, l'Orationi vocali, l'Invocationi de' Santi, e cose simili, sono d'impedimento alla Contemplatione, ovvero Oratione di Quietè, alla quale non si deve premettere preparatione alcuna.

R. Se in ogni professione, e' maggiormente in quella della vera, e non fintionata spiritualità: *Nemo repente fit summus*, come l'esperienza dimostra, perche e ordine della nostra fiacca natura, co' cui si va accomodando la gratia per il nostro cammino all' ultimo termine dell' Eternità, che a *facilioribus sit incipendum*; che percio e grand' ignoranza, e presontione entrare nell' Oratione di Quietè, prima d'altri esercitii, e senza' preparatione. Chi cosi entra, uscira ancora senz' alcun profitto.

XI. Il Sacramento della Penitenza, avanti la Communion non e per l'Anime interiori, e contemplative, ma per l'esteriori, e meditative.

R. I contemplativi hanno solamente un' Anima che è puo meditare, e puo contemplare, & anco puo star in peccato. Dunque il Sacramento dello Penitenza prima della S. Communione, è necessario all'Anima contemplative.

XII. *La Meditatione non riguarda Dio col lume della Fede, ma con il lume naturale in Spirito e verità, e però non ha merito appresso Dio.*

R. Se la meditatione non fosse meritoria appresso Dio, (*saltem aliquantulum de congruo*) no' sarebbe così familiare aller Religioni, dove furono, e sono grand' Huomini fanali della S. C. R. ne sarebbe incaricata da' SS. Patriarchi, e da' Sommi Pontefici remunerata con Indulgenze plenarie, come esercizio spirituale, proportionato alli Amici di Dio, & à quelli, che abbandonano le fallacie del mondo. Di Dio, come si puo conoscere l'esistenza col lume naturale, e con la fede sopranaturale, così puo darsi Meditatione che lo riguardi naturalmente, e Meditatione che lo riguardi con fede pura, e sopranaturale.

XIII. *L'Imagini non solo interne, e mentali, ma anco l'esterne solite venerarsi da fedile, come sono quelle di Christo, e de' suoi Santi, sono dannose a' Contemplativi, onde devono fuggirsi, e toglier via, acciò non impediscano la Contemplatione.*

R. Quanto decreto, e decretara la S. Madre Chiesa, à cui presiede Direttore lo Spirito Santo tutto giovevole all' Vassallaggio di Christo; pero se a' Fedeli la Chiesa ordina l'adorationi delle SS. Immagini, non devono queste sfuggirsi, o toglier via, come nocivi alla Contemplatione; nulladimeno alcuni sguardi alla sfuggita verso dette Immagini non sono valevoli à far perdere la Contemplatione; ovvero Oratione di Quietè al Contemplativo,

altro, quale se in ogni caso la perde, proviene dalla sua troppa imbecillità, e per altro poi e più dalla sua l'Anima raggionevole; e maggine la grazia, che l'assiste di quello che suppone queste. Cap. Anzi la moderata consideratione di dette immagini serve à formar nell' Anima l'interno ragguaglio, perche il contemplativo si faccia reggere dalla Gràtia.

XIV. *Chi una volta si è applicato alla Contemplatione non deve piu ritornare alla Meditatione, perche sarebbe un passare, dal meglio al peggio.*

R. E vero che è cosa mala passare dal meglio al peggio, ma spesso conviene non possedendo attualmente il meglio incaminarsi à posseder il buono. E vero ancora, che essendo pontualmente nella Contemplatione, non si deve lacciar questa a fine di mettersi nella Meditatione. Ancorche la Contemplatione sia migliore, non ritrovandosi il Christiano attualmente nella Contemplatione, non opera inconvenientemente applicandosi à meditare, perche conviene, che per ogni via, che Dio si può mirare dall' Anima, sia da questa riverentemente essequiata.

XV. *Se nel tempo della Contemplatione vengono pensieri brutti, & osceni, non si deve usar diligenza alcuna in scacciarli, no ricorrer ad alcun buon pensiero, ma compiacersi di essere da' quelli molestato.*

R. Per non perderli l'unione effettiva con Dio, che nella formale contemplatione si trova, è atto di prudenza toglier via l'occasione, come è atto di scioperaggine il trattenerli con complacenza, perche come dice S. Tomaso d'Aquino, *qui vult causam, ex qua necessarium, vel regulariter sequitur affectus, vult virtualiter effectum*, E lo Spirito Santo. *Qui amat periculum*

culum peribit in illo. Dunque sentendo in noi la rebellione del senso nella Contemplatione, ancorch' fidati in noi stessi, dobbiamo usar ogni diligenza per superarla. Dovemo pero raccomandarci alla Divinita, e chieder la sua gratia, per tranquillare i mali pensieri, diffondere le sue gioie nell' Anima, e calmare i sensi alterati, *Et ut sint aspera in via placida.*

XVI. Niun' atto ò affetto nostro interno, benchè formato per mezzo della fede, e puro, ne piace a' Dio, perche nasce dall' Amor proprio, mentre non vi sia infuso dallo Spirito Santo, senza nostra industria, e diligenza alcuna, onde quelli, che stanno nella Contemplatione ò in Oratione d'affetti, devono stare otiosi, aspettando l'influsso dello Spirito Santo.

R. A Dio solamente piacciono i suoi Doni, tutte quelle nostre Operationi, che da Noi si fanno con la sua Santa Gratia. Quindi tanto pier, profeta sarà la Contemplatione, quanto meno sarà otiosa, purchè il Contemplatore non si lasci da' qualche sensibile trasportare, prechè perdereia la Contemplatione, e gli succederabbe come alla Moglie di Loth, che per mirar indietro perse il Cammino. E poi temerita aspettare in otiosito l'influsso miracoloso dallo Spirito Santo, perche a' quei, che sono nell' Oratione di Quietè non si deve il cammino passivo, mentre non hanno condegnita sopra i doni della Spirito Santo. Bensì succede alle volte che lo Spirito penetri l' Anima di chi sta nell' Oratione d'affetti, ma per gratia particolare. Aggiungo contro la prima propositione di questo 16. capo. Li Quietisti dicono nel 12. capo che la Meditatione non ha merito appresso Dio, perche non lo riguarda col lume della fede, dunque l'atto formato per mezzo della fede ha merito appresso Dio, dunque è puro, e gli piace.

XVII. *Quelli che stanno nell'atto della Contemplazione, ò dell' Oratione di Quietè, ò siano Per-
Religiose, ò figli di famiglia, ò altri, che vi-
sotto l'altrui comando, non devono in quel-
tempo obedire & eseguire gli ordini della Regola,
de' superiori, per non interrompere la Contem-
plazione.*

R. La contemplatione ancorche sia in noi di gran
perfectione, perche non ci viene comandata da
Dio, interrompendosi non si pecca, ma essendoci
comandata da Dio l'Obedienza a' Genitori, & a
superiori, si deve obedire a' questi, anco con lasciare
l'attual Contemplatione, perche in riguardo dell'
ordine divino l'obedienza è preferibile nella pratica,
ancorche la Contemplatione, sia molto piu considera-
bile nella sua perfectione obiettiva.

XVIII. *Devono i Contemplativi esser totalmente
disgiunti dall'affetto di tutte le Cose, che rigettino a'
disprezzino li Doni, e favori di Dio, e si dis-
fessionino dell' istessa virtù, ò per maggiormente
sguardarsi d'ogni casa, e viver meglio a' se medesimi,
ancora quello, che ripugna alla modestia, & all'
onestà, purchè non sia espressamente contro li precetti
del Decalogo.*

R. Iddio favorisce i Contemplativi con la Com-
municatione de' suoi boni, non per essere questi
disprezzati, ma per abbellirgli l' Anima, e fortifi-
carli l'habilita naturale all' esercizio della virtù.
Ounque ancorche i Contemplativi non se ne uebba-
no insuperbire, devono sopra modo stimarli, o ser-
venne con humiltà di spirito: E se Dio vuole l'ho-
nestà come buona, sono in obligo anche i Contem-
plativi esser honesti, perche Iddio non ha fatto de-
tutto, che privilegiasse i Contemplativi a non esser
soggetti alla ragione, su la quale si fonde la Mode-
stia, e l'honestà della Vita.

XIX. Li Contemplativi sono soggetti alle *Vitioze*, per le quali restano privi dell'uso del libero arbitrio, sì che se anco bene gravissimamente peccano esteriormente, nondimeno interiormente non fanno peccato alcuno; onde ne anco devono Confessarsi di ciò che hanno fatto. Ci si prova con l'esempio di Giob: il quale con tutto che non solo ingiuriassè il Prossimo, ma anche bestemmiasse impiamente Dio, in ogni modo non peccava, perchè tutto questo faceva per violenza del Demonio. E per dar giuditio di queste violenze, non serve la Teologia Scolastica, e morale, ma è necessario Spirito sopranaturale, il quale in pochissimi si trova. E in questi s'ha da giudicare non l'interno dall'esterno, ma l'esterno dall'interno.

R. Che in questo Cap. 19, non solamente *languis sub herba*, ma apertamente si vede, che tutto nome di Contemplativi spirituali, vogliono i Quietisti essere debacanti sensuali. L'esempio che adducono di Giob ben dimostra che no' hanno l'intelligenza della Scrittura: Mai Giob peccò esteriormente ne contro il Prossimo, ne contro Dio quando parlò nel cap. 19. nel 6. verso, come ben dimostra, anco per mezzo del senso letterale *Propheta* tom. 11. sopra Giob c. 35. ne peccò, come il Prossimo, come nell'istesso puo vedersi, sempre fondata su la Doctrina de' SS. Padri, che della Scrittura, e insegnano il vero senso. E per dirlo poche parole con altre ragioni, la gratia con la quale Iddio sempre ci assiste, unita con la nostra cooperazione puo superare ogni, assalto nemico. E Christo disse a tutte in persona di S. Paolo: *Sufficit tibi gratia mea*. Dunque il Contemplativo non è violentabile, e venghi necessitato al peccato esteriori, &c.

THE PRINCIPAL ERRORS,

Of those who Practise,

The Prayer of Quietness,

Censured and Refuted.

I. ERROR.

*Contemplation, or the Prayer of Inward
quietness, consists in this, that a man puts
himself in the presence of God, by forming an
Act of Faith, full of Love, tho simple,
stops there, without going further: and
without suffering any Reasoning, the Images
of any things, or any Object whatsoever to
enter into his mind: and so remains fixed and
inmoveable, in his Act of Faith: it being a
mark in that Reverence that is due to God,
to double this simple act of his: which is a
mark of so much Merit, and of so great force,
that it comprehends within it self, and far ex-
ceeds the merits of all other vertues, joyned
together: and it lasts the whole course of a mans*

life, if it is not discontinued by some other that is contrary to it; therefore it is not necessary to repeat or redouble it.

The CENSURE and REFUTATION

It is not an Act of Faith that puts us in the Presence of God: for he is within us by the necessary effect of the Immensity of his nature: therefore *Elias, Micaiah*, and the Prophets said, *Vivit Deus in cujus conspectu*. The Lord lives in whose presence I live, and it is upon the same reason that the Fathers have said after St. Austin, *In Deum*

mus movemur & sumimus. Another would have thought that St. Paul should have been cited for this, rather than St. Austin, since he had said this first, Acts 17. v. 28. but Rome is not the place of the World where the N. Testament is most read, and this putting of ones self in the presence of God, can only mean the considering ones self as before him.

God we live, we move, we have our being; so that it is not an Act of Faith, that presupposes that the Agent is in the presence of God; & it supposes likewise that it does nothing else but signify that the Creature makes of it self to be in the presence of God. Therefore Contemplation is not a secure Act of Faith, but a simple & full of love, is not a quieted on by the Soul when she looks at God, and is not at all while she continues in an unmoveable state. It is then an Error and Falsehood to say, that other good actions

at all necessary: any good act being of its
 re finite, may become always better, by
 g often reiterated, and the multiplying
 Acts of vertue cannot be contrary to the
 erence that is due to God, who being ex-
 ot from all passion, can never be troubled
 wearied with Importunities, as great men
 apt to be, who as Experience teaches,
 often changed, disturbed, and be-
 e uneasy, when the same things are too
 en repeated to them. But with relation
 God, when an act is in it self good, the re-
 ing it is a progress in good; which is ap-
 oved of God, and becomes more merito-
 us in his sight. Therefore the Soul in Con-
 templating, continues her Acts, and does
 not stick obstinately to one single Act, Con-
 templation being still an Operation of the
 mind, tho other things are likewise neces-
 sary.

II. E R R O R.

One cannot make one step towards Perfe-
 ction by meditation, that being to be obtained
 first by Contemplation.

R F U T A T I O N.

A Christian by meditating seriously on the
 Passion of Christ, and reflecting on that Love
 that made a God suffer so much for Mankind,
 may upon that resolve to love him again, and
 obey all his Commands: and he may by the
 Grace of God which is ever present to us put

those good purposes in Execution: so that the Soul may well advance towards Perfection in Meditation: It may be also done without Meditation; for every one that lives according to the Laws of God, may work out his own Salvation by the help of God. Now since no man can be saved but he that is Perfect, and a Friend of God's, then this *Article* is most certainly false.

III. ERROR.

All Study and Learning, even in sacred Matters and in Divinity, is a Hindrance to Contemplation: of which learned men are not able to make a true judgment, that being only to be expected from those that are given to Meditation and Contemplations

REFUTATION.

The Study of Divinity makes known to us

This Article is falsely represented: for the Quietists, as all other Mysticks, only except to that dry learning which is not accompanied with an inward sense of Divine matters.

the Object of Contemplation: which as the *Quietists* say, is the Divine Essence: therefore it consists well with Contemplation: & if the Study of Divinity were opposit to this, then the ignorance of it is necessary to make a man Contemplative: and thus since *S. Austin* and all the other holy Doctors and Lights of the Church, were men Learned in this study, they must be looked on as men that were Incapable of rising up to

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Contemplation : which is false : because God, who has appointed the Priesthood as the highest degree of service done him, cannot be supposed to have intended that the Priests should not be Contemplative persons ; and it is plain, that God will have his Priests to be knowing : for in the Scriptures he threatens by *Hosea* the Prophet such as despised knowledge, and were in the Priesthood. *Tu repulisti scientiam & ego repellam te ne sacerdos fungaris.* Thou hast rejected knowledge, and therefore I have rejected thee from the Priesthood. I pass over other Arguments from scripture and reason, because I am ordered to be short ; and as for what is said in this Article, that the Learned cannot judge of Contemplation, it shews plainly, that the Ignorance of those Spiritualists carries them to this boldness, of not being willing to submit it to that Correction, which they might expect from that Infallible mean of *Here is a new tribunal of Infalibility.* the Judgment of the Learned.

IV. ERROR.

There is no Contemplation that is perfect, but that which regards God himself ; the Mysteries of the Incarnation, and of the Life and Passion of our Saviour, are not the Objects of Contemplation : on the contrary, they hinder : so that Contemplative persons must avoid

them at a great distance, and think of them with Contempt.

REFUTATION.

If Contemplation is an affection that is raised in the Understanding or the Will by a proper object by the help of the Grace of God, and that consists in an Inward Recollection of the mind, then the Life of Christ is a proper Object for it, since a Christian can present this to his thoughts, and raise upon it an Act of Faith and Love. Besides

If we judge of this new Infallibility by this way of proving that Jesus Christ is the proper Object of Contemplation, we will not much admire it; but if this Article is true, it looks liker Deism.

Christ came by a Commission from his Eternal Father to plant Paradise here on earth, according to that of the Prophet-Isaias, *Posui verbum meum in ore tuo ut plantes Caelos & fundes terram*; I have put my word in thy mouth that thou may plant the heavens and establish the earth; or as the Chaldee Paraphrase hath it, *ut plantes Caelos in terra*

that thou may plant the Heavens in the Earth as if he had said (as S. Jerome understood the words) that thou may plant true joy in those minds, that were debased by Original Sin; and how can it be imagined, that Contemplative Persons can rise above themselves in their Contemplations to taste of Divine Joys, if they must keep at such a distance

standing

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ance from Jesus Christ, who is the Immediate giver of them; and despise him? Christ is so far from hindring of Contemplation, that he came into the world to distribute all those Perfections and spiritual Joys to which the Contemplative aspire.

V. ERROR.

Corporal Penitences and Austerities do not belong to Contemplative Persons: On the contrary, it is better to begin ones Conversion by a State of Contemplation, than by a State of Penitence or of Penance; and Contemplative Persons ought to avoid and despise all the effects of sensible Devotion, such as Tenderness of Heart, Tears and Spiritual Consolations, all which are contrary to Contemplation.

REFUTATION.

Mortifications dispose the Spirit to rise above the Motions of sense; and therefore it is that all the Saints have begun their course towards Perfection with Fasting and Discipline. And therefore if these Contemplatives design Perfection, they must practise Penance: since nothing renders a man so fit for Contemplation, as to rise above all the Disorders of Sense. God in the Scriptures promises to forgive the mourning Sinner; but this is not promised to the Contemplative in any place either of the Old or New Testament. Therefore it is better to begin ones

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Conversion with purgative Exercises and Penances, than with Contemplation.

VI. ERROR.

True Contemplation must keep it self fixed only to the essence of God, without reflecting either on his Persons, or his Attributes. And an Act of Faith thus conceived, is more perfect and meritorious than that which considers God with the Divine Attributes, or with the Persons of the Trinity in it.

REFUTATION.

The Persons of the Trinity, and the Attributes of God, are the proper Objects of Faith and Love, while we recollect all the Powers of our Souls and resign our selves to God: for as these are divine Truths, that are revealed to us, so the Attributes of God are both good in themselves, and good to us, so that they are proper to raise in us a true Contemplation. It is also false, that an Act of Faith, that has God for its Object, without considering his Attributes, or the Persons of the Trinity, is more perfect than that which regards God in conjunction with them. For if to believe that God is one, and that he is just, is a perfect and a meri-

Here one sees what a thing school Divinity is, by this way of reckoning: but the value of acts rises from the Intention of the mind, and not from the Extension of the object.

rious Act of Faith, and to believe that God is true in his

Nature is also a perfect and meritorious Act; then the Act by which God is believed to be true, just and Three in One, is a more perfect and a more meritorious Act, than that in which he was considered only as one in Essence. Because a man merits more by two Acts of the same vertue than by a single one only: for God has communicated supernatural helps to us, not only for doing one Act of vertue, but that we may make an advance in such Acts. Therefore one Act of Faith, that is equivalent to two others, is more meritorious and perfect than any one of these two. Therefore we may justly conclude against the first branch of this Article, that true and perfect Contemplation raised to its highest pitch, must not only regard God in his Essence, but likewise in his Persons and Attributes.

VII. ERROR.

The Soul becomes immediately united to God in Contemplation; so that there is no need of Phantasms, Images, or any sort of Representation.

REFUTATION.

Tho it is true, that the Soul in some sort unites her self immediately to God in Contemplation, that is, by a Union of affections; for the Understanding beholds God simply, yet some Ideas are

This is not meant of pure Ideas, but of gross Phantasms.

necessary for exciting the natural force of the Understanding, and to carry it to look at God: which Idea is a sort of Object that moves the Understanding.

VIII. ERROR.

All contemplative persons suffer in the Act of Contemplation such grievous Torments, they seem to surpass even the sufferings of the Martyrs themselves.

REFUTATION.

If Contemplation consists (as the *Quietists* pretend it does) in this, that

This Article is also falsely represented; for the Quietists only mean, that Souls suffer many inward Agonies in a contemplative state, of which all the Books of the Mysticks are full, and which they call the great Desolation.

the Soul puts her self in the presence of God, by an act of Faith, full of Love, and after that continues idle: this is not the being formally tormented, or the enduring more than the Martyrs suffered: and tho it is true in some sort, that Pains and Miseries come after Contemplation, this flows either

from the Devil, to whom upon that occasion God gives leave to try those persons, or from some weakness in Nature, that oppresses the Body, from Melancholy, or an abundance of Blood, that raises Headaches, or from some other unknown Cause. But many others have appeared to be in the very Act of Contemplation, as it were environed with Light, and

and have looked with a serene, and sometimes with a smiling countenance; which Lewis the XI. of France observed in Francis a Paula; and they have been as it were overflown with joy, when the Contemplation was over; having been admitted in it, to see their Bridegroom in that simple Act, in which there passes as it were a Marriage between God and the Soul.

IX. E R R O R.

During the Sacrifice of the Mass, and on the Festivals of the Saints, it is better to apply oneself to an Act of pure Faith, and to Contemplation, than to the Mysteries of that Sacrifice, or to consider the Lives of those Saints.

REFUTATION.

He is much deceived, who thinks to arrive at Contemplation without a due disposition of Soul for it: and therefore the consideration of the Mysteries of the Mass, and of the Examples that the Saints have set us, is a spiritual preparation for it, tho it may be only a remote one: Therefore a Christian ought to set himself first to consider the Mysteries of the Mass, and the Lives of the Saints, and then apply himself to Contemplation, having prepared his Soul duly for it.

The Quietists only mean by this, that if a man in an act of outward devotion is carried to Contemplate, he is not to hold his mind to the outward devotion.

X. ERROR.

The reading of Spiritual Books, Sermons, Vocal Prayer, the Invocation of Saints, and all such things, are hindrances to Contemplation, which is only attained by the Prayer of Quietness, to which it is not necessary to premise any preparation whatsoever.

REFUTATION.

If in every profession, but chiefly in a true and unfeignedly spiritual Tem-

The Quietists only mean, that no general Methods carry men to Contemplation, and that it is the effect of a special Grace.

per, that Maxim holds good, *Nemo repente fit summus*, No man attains to the height all of the sudden, which daily experience demonstrates, then it is but futeable to the feebleness of our Nature, to which the Divine Grace accommodates it self, that in our Journey towards that height of Eternity, *a facilius sit incipiendum*, we must begin with those things that are easier; therefore it is great Ignorance or presumption to enter into the Prayer of Quietness before other exercises, and without due preparation. And he who begins his course thus, will end it without any fruit.

XI. ERROR.

The Sacrament of Penance before Communion, is not for contemplative Souls, that live in this inward state; but only for those that are in the Exterior and Meditative state.

REFUTATION.

These Contemplative persons have but one Soul, which at some times meditates, and at other times contemplates: and that may come to be in a state of sin. Therefore the Sacrament of Penance is necessary even for those Contemplative Souls, before they go to Communion.

This of one Soul is Ridiculous.

XII. ERROR.

Meditation does not look at God with the Light of Faith, but only in a natural Light, in Spirit and in Truth: and therefore it is not meritorious before God.

REFUTATION.

If Meditation were not in some sort at least in the way of Congruity, meritorious before God; it could not be so much practised in all Religious Orders, from whence there have come, and daily there does come, so many of the shining lights of the Holy Roman Church: nor would it have been set on so much by their Holy Patriarchs, nor rewarded by the Popes with Plenary Indulgences, as a spiritual Exercise suteable to the Friends of God; and to those who had abandoned the Snares of this present World. But as one may know the Existence of God by the Light of Nature, as well as by a supernatural Faith, so likewise some

The Quietists only condemn a dry and Merbanical Meditation.

A Letter from ROME,

Meditations look at God, only with the Light of Nature; and others are Acts of a Supernatural Faith.

XIII. E R R O R.

Not only inward and mental Images, but those outward ones which are worshipped by the Faithful, such as the Images of Christ and of his Saints, are hurtful to contemplative Persons, and they ought to be avoided and removed, that so they may not hinder Contemplation.

R E F U T A T I O N.

All things are useful to the Service of Christ, that either is decreed, or that may be decreed by the Holy Mother Church; in all whose Consultations the Holy Ghost prelates and directs them. Therefore if the Church appoints the Adoration of Images, none of the Faithful ought to avoid them,

Here, notwithstanding all our Representatives in England, you see the Adoration of Images is so received at Rome, that it is a Crime to think that the most perfect may be above it.

or remove them as hurtful to Contemplation, and some secret looks towards these Images, is no way likely to make a Man fall from the height of Contemplation; or the Prayer of Quietness; from which if he falls at any time, it flows from his own great Instability, since the reasonable Soul is a Nobler being, and the Grace that it receives, is of a higher nature,

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ture, than is supposed in this Article. Therefore a moderate regard to *Images* will serve to confirm the Soul in her inward Recollection, if a Contemplative man regulates this by the help of the Grace of God.

XIV. ERROR.

He that has once applyed himself to Contemplation, must never return to Meditation; for this were to fall from a better State to a worse.

REFUTATION.

It is true, that it is an ill thing to go from better to worse; but it is oft times good for a man, that cannot attain to that which is better, to content himself with that which is good. It is also true, that while a man is in Contemplation, he ought not to let that go that he may turn himself to Meditation. Yet tho Contemplation is still the better State, when a Christian is not actually in Contemplation, it is not Inconvenient for him to apply himself to Meditation: because the Soul ought to follow God with all due Reverence, in all those ways in which he may lead her.

This is only meant by the Quietists of returning to a Mechanical way of Meditation.

XV. ERROR.

If foul and impure Thoughts come into the mind while one is in Contemplation, he ought to take no care to drive them away; nor to turn himself

himself to any good thoughts, but to have a complacency in the trouble that he suffers from them.

REFUTATION.

It is a piece of Prudence in a man who

This is only so to be understood, that according to the rules given by all the Mysticks, when ill thoughts come into Man's mind, the best way to overcome them, is rather to neglect them, than to struggle much against them.

being in Contemplation, would not lose that union by which he is united to God, to avoid every thing that may occasion it; as on the contrary, it is a strong piece of neglect to entertain that with complacency which must make one lose it, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, *He that loves the cause from which any effect fol-*

lows, either naturally, or at least commonly, does virtually love the effect it self: And the Holy Ghost says, He that loves danger, shall perish in it. Therefore a man who being in Contemplation, feels the Rebellion of the sensible part, he ought to use all diligence to overcome in whatsoever a state he may be in. He ought therefore to recommend it to God, and to implore his Grace to quiet all those evil thoughts: that so his joy being spread abroad in the Soul, all the disorderly motions of sense may be calmed, & *ut sint aspera in vias planas*, That what is rough may may be made smooth.

XVI. ERROR.

No inward Action or Affection, tho' formed by the vertue of Faith, is pure or pleasing to God: because it rises out of self-love, unless it is infused in us by the Holy Ghost, without any Industry or Diligence used by us: therefore they that are in the state of Contemplation or of Prayer, or inward Affections, ought to continue in a state of suspense, waiting for the miraculous Influence of the H. Ghost.

REFUTATION.

God is not only pleased with all his own Gifts, that are in us, but with every thing that is done by us, with the help of his grace: therefore our Contemplation will be so much the more perfect, the less inactive we our selves are: provided that the Contemplative Person does not suffer himself to be carried away by any sensible Object; for by that he would fall from that state, and become as Lot's Wife, who was stopt short, because she looked behind her. It is then a rashness to keep our selves in an unactive state, and in it to look for the miraculous Influence of the H. Ghost. For all that are in the Prayer of Quietness, must not expect to be led into this Passive State, since they have not a Condignity fite-
able

This is indeed down-right Enthusiasm, yet much of this strain will be found in all the Writings of the Mysticks.

able to those Gifts: Tho sometimes the H. Ghost does penetrate the Souls of those who are in this prayer of inward affection, but this is the effect of a particular Grace: I add against the first branch of this Article that the *Quietists* say in the 12th Article, that Meditation is of no merit in the sight of God, because it does not look at him with the Light of Faith; from which I infer, that an Act formed by the Power of Faith, is meritorious before God, and by consequence, it is pure and acceptable to him.

XVII. ERROR.

Those who have arrived at the State of Contemplation, and the Prayer of inward Quietness, being Religious Persons, or being under the Authority of Parents, or any other Superiours, are not bound to observe their Rules, or to obey their Superiours, while they are in Contemplation, lest that Interrupt it.

REFUTATION.

Altho Contemplation is an Act of high Perfection, yet since it is not commanded by God, it may be interrupted without sin: and since Obedience to Parents and Superiours, is commanded by God, that ought to take place, and even Contemplation ought to be discontinued in order to it. And therefore considering the Order that God has settled, that Obedience ought to be pre-

This the Quietists deny, as an Imputation cast upon them.

Preferred to Contemplation, tho the latter is to its objective Perfection much more valuable than the former.

XVIII. ERROR.

Contemplative persons ought to divest themselves of all affections to all things: they ought to reject and despise all God's Gifts and Favours, and to strip themselves of all Inclinations even for vertue it self; and in order to this totall abnegation of all things, and that they may live better within themselves, they ought even to do that which is contrary to Modesty and decency; provided that it be not expressly contrary to some of the Ten Commandments.

All the Mysticks, and in particular Sr. Philip Neri, have often done things that seemed ridiculous & absurd, as the highest exercises of Mortification and Humility.

REFUTATION.

When God favours Contemplative Persons so far, as to communicate any of his blessings to them, these things ought not to be despised, but to be considered as Favours that tend both to beautify the Soul, and to fortify her in the exercise of Vertue: so that tho Contemplative Persons ought not to be lifted up with them, yet they ought to value them highly, and to make use of them with all Humility of Spirit: and since God considers Decency as a sort of Goodness, Contemplative Persons ought

ought to be decent in all things: for God has not by any special Decree exempted them from the Rules of Reason, upon which all the Modesty and Decency of Life is founded.

XIX. ERROR.

Contemplative Persons are subject to violent Commotions, by which they lose the exercise of the Freedom of their Will. So that tho they may fall into most grievous Sins, as to the exterior Act, yet they do not at all sin inwardly: And so they are not bound to confess that which they have done. All this is proved by the Example of Job, who tho he not only said things that were very Injurious to his Neighbour, but had blasphemed God most Impiously, yet he did not sin in all this: because all was done by the Violence of the Devil. In order to the judging of these Violences, neither the Learning of the Schoolmen or of the Casuists, is of any use: but a supernatural Spirit is necessary, which is to be found in very few persons: now these are the only Competent Judges, who must not judge of the Internal by the External: but on the contrary, of the External by the Internal.

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REFUTATION.

In this Article the Snake does not hide himself in the Grass, but shews himself very visibly: since by this it is plain, that the *Quietists* will be sensual *Libertines* under the name of Spiritual and Contemplative Persons. The Example that they bring of *Job* shews clearly how little they understand the Scripture. *Job* did not sin outwardly, neither against his Neighbour nor against God in what he said, cap. 19. ver. 6. as *Pineda* (tom. 2. in *Job*. 235.) has evidently proved from the literal sense of the words: he did not sin against his Neighbour, as appears by the Expositions of the Holy *Fathers*, from whom we are to learn the true sense of the Scriptures. And to end this matter in a few words, that Grace with which God assists us at all times, is such, that we co-operating with it, may overcome all the Temptations of our Enemies. And Christ has said to all in the person of *S. Paul*, my Grace is sufficient for thee: therefore a Contemplative Person cannot be pushed on by any Violence or Necessity whatsoever, to any External Act of Sin.

But it is very poorly refused, certainly. *Job* said many very hard things, which God who knew the sincerity of his heart, and the strength of his temptations, did not lay to his Charge.

It is not easie to judge whether these *Articles* are faithfully drawn out, or truly represented: for it is probable, that *Malice* has a large share in some of them, chiefly in this last, which leads to down-right *Libertinage*; the others have rather suspected, that all tended to an Elevated *Deism*: Yet it is certain, that if there is much Poison in these *Articles*, the Antidote of the *Censure* is so feeble, that it cannot have a strong Operation; and it shews how little the *Scripture* and true *Divinity* is understood at *Rome*.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN the former *Letter*, I told you all that I could learn of this matter, during my stay at *Rome*, but having left it in *July*, I prevailed with one to give me an account of the Conclusion of this Affair, of which I send you a Copy: For tho I know all the *Gazettes* of *Europe* will be full of the Decision and End that is believed to be put to the Business of *Quietism*, yet you know too well, how little one ought to depend on such Relations: all the News of this matter, will either be that which is writ by the direction of the *Inquisition*, or by the Strangers that are there, and pick up such things as they find among the *Romans*, who are ever true to the old

Cha,

Character that Juvenal gave of that City,
Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, & odie
Damnatorem.

Therefore I will give you an account of
this business, on which you may depend, in the
words of a Letter writ me from *Rome*.

Now this great Affair, upon which men
have so long lookt with so much expectation;
at an end, and a party that was believed to
be a Million strong, is now either quite extin-
guisht, or at least oppress'd with a great deal
of Infamy: and Mr. *Molinos*, who has lived
above twenty years in this City, in the highest
Reputation possible, is now as much hated
never he was admired: he is not only confi-
dered as a Condemned, and an Abjured *Here-
tick*, but he is said to have been convicted of
much Hypocrisy, and of a very lewd course
of life; which is so firmly believed by the
Romans, that he was treated by them on the
day of his Abjuration, with all possible In-
dignities; but the people as they shewed their
affections to him, by their cries of *Fire, Fire*,
so were ready to have sacrificed him to their
rage, if he had not been well defended by the
Soldiers and Guards that were about him. And
it would be a crime enough at present, to re-
commend a man to the care of the *Inquisitors*,
if he should seem to doubt either of his *Here-
sy*, or of the Scandals of his Life. All the
Party is extreamly sunk: Cardinal *Petrucchi*
himself

himself lives in *Rome* as if he were in a desert for no Body goes to visit him, and he stirs little abroad: nor is it thought that he will escape: there are four sent by the *Inquisitors* to his Diocese of *Jessa* to examin his behaviour there: there is also a discourse, that has lately appeared at *Rome*, that was secretly printed, of which he is suspected to be the Author which is an *Apology for Quixism*, that gives great offence. It is said, that the *Inquisitors* had full proofs against *Molinos*, by fourteen Witnesses; of whom eight indeed came and offered their Depositions of their own accord, and the other six were forced to declare the truth, which raises the Credit of their Testimony: since his Abjuration, it is said that many of his Followers have abjured in prison, and that besides the Prisoners that are in their hands, great numbers come in every day to accuse themselves, and to offer themselves to penance, these are all very gently dismissed by the *Inquisitors*, who are now as much censured by the *Romans* for their excessive mildness, as ever they have been blamed by others for their rigor: and those secret Abjurations are believed to be all the Severity that they will practise on this occasion; for it is said that even *F. Apiani* the *Jesuite* will be abjured in secret; tho some say, he is madd, others that he is become deaf and dumb, and not a few believe that he is dead: so uncertain are all

Reports

reports at present. In a word, the hatred of the
 present *Pontificate* appears very visibly upon
 this Occasion: the *People* affecting to shew a
 extraordinary rage against a person, and
 party, that has been so much favoured and
 supported by the *Pope*: so that this matter
 comes clearly home to him, and wounds his
 reputation extreamly; all this raises the credit
 of the *Jesuites*, who value themselves upon the
 and the conduct of their *Society* upon this
 occasion. All the *Popes* Enemies, the *Jesuites*,
 the *French Party*, and the body of the *People*,
 are Malecontented and weary of him;
 his long and dull *Reign*, shew the Plea-
 sure they have in aggravating this matter a-
 gainst him: they say, this is the first time
 that ever any *Heresy* made *Rome* its Seat,
 where it choosed to nestle it self; but it is
 more strange, that it should have conti-
 nued there above twenty years, notwithstanding
 all that multitude of *Spyes* that the *Inqui-*
 sition has every where; that the *Pope* should
 have shut his Ears against all Complaints,
 that this Doctrine had gained so great Au-
 thority, that those who attackt it, passed for
Hereticks, or Calumniators at least, and that
 even after all the Discoveries that have been
 made, that the *Pope* was known to favour
Minors secretly, and was so hardly brought at
 last to consent to the Condemnation, in which
 it is said, that nothing prevailed on him till
 the

the *Cardinals* informed him of the Scandals of *Molinos's* Life, that were proved: that was indeed a matter that could fall within the *Popes* understanding; for the points of *Doctrine* are believed to be above it. All these things concur to increase the Contempt under which the present *Pontificate* lies; yet for those Scandals of *Molinos's* life, I do not know what to believe: many will not believe them, and think they are only *Impositions* given out to render him odious; for if they had been true, and well proved, it is said that the *Censure* would have been severer, for a perpetual *Imprisonment*, and the saying his *Credo*, and the fourth part of the *Rosary* every day, are mild Punishments, if he is found to have been so flagitious a Man, and so vile a Hypocrite, as is given out. His own Behaviour at the *Minerva* did not look, either like a Man; that was much confounded with the Discoveries that had been made, or that was very Penitent for them, or for his *Heresy*, so that the Mildness of the *Censure*, to a Man that shewed so little humility or repentance, seems to flow rather from the Defectiveness of the Proofs, than from the gentleness of the *Tribunal*. I confess, I was not a Witness to what passed in the *Minerva*; for as I would not venture in the Crowd, so both Money and Favour was necessary to accommodate a man well on that occasion, where not only

General Curiosity brought a vast confluence of People together, to see the issue of a Business that has been so long in suspense, but a particular Devotion: for the Pope had granted a General Indulgence to all that should assist in that Solemnity: But I will give you the account as I had it from Eye-witnesses. Moliere was well dressed, new trimm'd, in his Priestly Habit, with a cheerful Countenance, that as was said by his Enemies, had all the Charms on it, that were necessary to recommend him to the fair Sex. He was brought from Prison in an open Coach, one Dominick being with him in it. He was at first placed for some time in one of the Corridors of the Minerva: he looked about him very freely, and returned all the Salutes that were made him: And all that he was heard say, was, *That they saw a man that was defamed, but that was Penitent (Infamato ma Penitito.)* After that he was carried to dinner, where he was well treated, that being to be his last good Dinner. After Dinner, he was brought into the Church, as in a Triumph, carried on the shoulders of the *Sbiri* in an open Chair: when he was brought to his place, as he made his Reverence very devoutly to the Cardinals, so there was no shew of Fear or of Shame, in his whole Deportment. He was chained, and a Wax Light was put in his hand, while two strong-lung'd Fryers read his *Process* aloud, and

and care had been taken to lay matters forth as some of the *Articles* were read, all should cry *Fire, Fire*. When he came back to Prison, he entred into his little Cell, with great Tranquillity, calling it his *Cabinet*, and took leave of his *Priest* in these words, *My Father, we shall meet again at the Day of Judgment, and then it will appear on which side the Truth is, whether on my side, or on yours*. So he was shut up for *Life*. Yet after all I find none of the wise men here think that the thing is at an end; but that the Fire which seems to be now extinguished, will break out with more violence: for one of his Followers had the boldness to tell the *Inquisitors* to their face, that they were a Company of Unjust, Cruel, and Heretical men; and compared their Treatment with that which Christ had met with, and yet even he had escaped upon an Abjuration, as is pretended. The Reasons that are given for this extraordinary Gentleness of the *Inquisitors*, who are seldom accused for erring on this side, are both the Numbers of the *Party*, who might be much irritated by publick Examples, and also the great Credit that their *Doctrine* has from the *Mystical Divinity*, that is authorised by so many *Canonisations*: for it is said, that from several parts the *Inquisitors* have brought together above twenty thousand of *Molino's Letters*: whose Correspondence

was

as so vast, that some give out, that the
 of the *Letters*, that were brought him the
 day in which he was seized on, rose to twenty
 Crowns. And I heard a *Divine* of Rome con-
 fess, that they have such *Authorities* for most of
 their *Tenets*, that they will never be beat out
 of them, by the force of their *School Divinity*,
 therefore he thought it was necessary to con-
 demn them by a formal Sentence, in which
 the Authority of the Church was to be inter-
 posed. Most of the condemned *Articles* are
 nothing but an Invidious Aggravating of the
 Doctrine of *Predestination* and *Grace Effic-*
acious of it self, and of Immediate Inspi-
 ration: for all the hard Consequences that
 are pretended to be drawn, either from the
 one or the other of these Opinions, are all
 turned into so many *Articles*, and condem-
 ned as so many Impious Doctrines; but you
 will be better able to judge of this matter
 when you see all that the *Inquisitors* will think
 fit to print concerning it.

A SECOND
LETTER

Writ from

ROME,

Containing some Particulars, relating
to the

INQUISITION.

S I R;

MY last to you, together with the
Advertisement which was sent me
from *Rome*, related wholly to the
Affairs of the *Quietists*; but be-
cause I know your Curiosity will perhaps go
further, and that you expect such *Observations*
from me, as you fancy me capable to make,
in a *Countrey* where I have now made so long
a *stay*, that it is my own fault, if I have not
been able to see a little further than Common

Tru-

Travellers do, therefore I will try what I can say that may please you.

I am, as you know, not Searcher into *Manuscripts*, or the *Curiosities of Libraries*, nor can I bring my self to so dry a study as is that of *Medals*, or *Inscriptions*. I had rather be beholding to the *Labours of others*, for the *Discoveries* they have made in those matters, than wear out my *Eyes* and spend my *Time* in the reading and *Deciphering* those *Remains of Antiquity*. I love all that knowledge, which, with how much difficulty soever it may be acquired, feeds the mind with some useful *Ideas*: but as for that knowledge which carries one no further, then that such a *Word*, or such a *Hieroglyphick* signified such a thing, and that gives the mind no matter to work on, and raises no game at which it may try, it has not charm enough to work on so long a man as I am. I confess, my studies, and my way of *Life* would have carried me more naturally into matters of *Religion*, or into the *Politics*: but as to the former, *Italy* is not a Country, where a man either can or dare reason upon these *Subjects*: for their *Ignorance* is such, that no man can profit much by their conversation on those heads: besides that, it is not safe to do it. The *Italians* are too well bred, to attack a man on that *Argument*; and they know their own *Ignorance* so well, and have so high an *Opinion*

nion of the *Learning* of the *Hereticks*, that they are sure never to provoke any of them: and he were a very bold and indiscreet man, that would begin the dispute with them: so after all, *News* and *Politics* is all that Remains, and you know I am idle enough both to think and to talk of these upon occasion: yet I must confess, that I find so many of my *Reflections* in *Dr. Burnets Letters*, that I have got sent me from *Leghorn*, that if I had not seen these, I had very likely writ you a great many of those that are already set out by him, with so much advantage, that I find the best part of all my *Observations* are already made by a better Pen: but I, who have as great an Aversion from copying, as he says he has, will avoid the saying any one thing that I find in his *Letters*: and will only speak of those Places that he did not see, or of those matters which he had not time enough to enquire after, or to observe; and since the former *Letter*, contained such a long and serious recital of a matter, that if it fixed your attention, you must have wearied it, I will now divert you a little, with some *Storys*, that will be more agreeable; and then I will return to more serious *Subjects*. I will begin with some relating to the *Inquisition*. I told you in my former *Letter*, of a great many *Prisoners* in the *Inquisition*, but among all the *Prisoners* that are there, none will surprise you so much as

when

when I tell you that there is a *Crucifix* kept here, which is called, *our Saviour in the Inquisition*: when this was first told me, I durst not speak out that which naturally occurred to my thoughts, which was, that our *Saviour* and the *Truth of his Gospel*, was indeed mixt up with so much severity by the *Inquisition*, that it was no wonder if he were reckoned among the *Prisoners* of that severe Court. But this story is less serious, and more Comical. You know that in all the bigotted *Towns*, the people are sorted in several *Fraternities* and every one of these, has their peculiar *Churches, Altars, Images* and *Relicks*, to which they pay a more extraordinary devotion: so there was one in *Florence*, among whose favourite *Images* a *Crucifix* hapned to be one: a *Woman* (that had a fair *Daughter*) fell sick: and as she had payed many Devotions to that *Image*, so she came to fancy, that in her sickness she had the Returns of very extraordinary Favours from it. The truth of the matter was, that one who had a mind to have frequent access to her *Daughter*, made a shift to deceive the poor sick *Woman*: for he appeared in such a disguise to her, that she believed it was the *Image* that came to comfort her. And that which was the most acceptable part of the Imposture was, that the *Impostor* knew by her *Daughters* means, every thing that she wanted,

ted, and took care to provide it for her, so that at every visit that he made her, he brought along with him, all the things she needed: this was sensible; so the credulous *Woman* believed all this came from her beloved *Image*: and she was now as grateful she had been before devout: she told all that came to see her; how careful and bountiful that *Image* was to her; and shewed them how well she was supplied by it. In short, this came to be generally believed: for when the least story of this kind gets vent, and is well received by the *Priests*, the *People* run in so headlong to it, that it would pass for a Crime capable enough of ruining one in the Spirit of the *Inquisitors*, to seem to doubt of it; but much more if one studied to undeceive others: therefore things of this nature kindle the minds of a superstitious multitude so quick, that in a few days a whole *Town* will seem as it was out of its Wits: what appeared signally on this occasion at *Florence*, for now the whole *Town* entered into this *Frenzy*. The *Great Duke* himself came into the number, and all were studying what *Honours* should be done to an *Image* that had been so kind to one of its *Worshippers*. But some that were wiser than the rest, saw through the Cheat, and Informed *P. Innocent* the 10th. of it, who was resolved to put a stop to the current of this *Superstition*: yet he saw it was

cessary

necessary to do it with some address: It fell out
 to be the year of *Jubily* 1650. so the *Pope* writ
 to *Florence*, that he had heard of the *Miracles*
 of that *Image*, to which he desired earnestly to
 his own *Devotions*, therefore he intreated
 them to bring it to *Rome*; that so the *Image*
 might have the addressees of all the *Pilgrims*, as
 well as his own made to it. Upon this the
 more bigotted of the *Fraternity*, would needs
 accompany the *Charitable Image*: so they
 carried it in *Procession* to *Rome*: and did not
 doubt but that the *Pope* and *Cardinals* with
 the *Clergy* of *Rome* would have come out in *Pro-*
cession to meet them and their *Image*: The sur-
 prise was no doubt very great, when instead of
 this, they found a *Company* of *Sbirri* stay-
 ing for them at the *Porta dell Populo*; who
 took their *Image* from them, and carried it
 away to the *Inquisition*; and sent them away
 a little mortified at the *Disgrace*, that
 had befallen their *Crucifix*, who has been
 ever since a *Prisoner* in the *Inquisition*.

I was told of another *Prisoner* there of a
 later date, but not much unlike this. You
 know the legend of the *Plague* that was in
Rome, as I remember in *S. Gregory the great's*
life, that was stopt by an *Angel*, that as was
 pretended came down, and stood over that
Castle, which was formerly called *Moles Ha-*
mani, but has carried the name of *Castro S.*
Angelo ever since. The *Fryers* of *Ara Celi* had

got a Stone, upon which there was an Impression like the print of a Foot: so they had put this in some part of their Church, and gave it out that this print was made by the Foot of that Angel; tho one can hardly imagine how they fancied that an Angel treaded so hard. This Stone had many Devotions paid to it. The learned Sigr. Pietro Bellori, who is without dispute the best Antiquary in Rome, being once in that Chappel at his Devotions, observed a great many praying about the Stone, and kissing it with great Respect and Affection; so he came to look upon it, and having examined it carefully, he saw clearly that it was a fragment of a Statue of the Goddess Isis; the Greek Characters were legible, and many things concurred to make a man of his Learning and Exactness conclude, that the Devotions were mis-applied that were paid to it; so he went to one of the Fathers of the House, and acquainted him with his Observation: and wished that they would remove that mistaken Object of Worship, lest some of the learned Hereticks that passed thro' Rome might discover and reproach the Church with it. But the Fathers of the House found the account in this matter, so they were so far from following his good Advice, that they only aspersed him that had given it, so as to accuse him of Impiety for diverting the Devotions of the people: the Imputation was carried on

that he was brought before the *Inquisition* to clear himself, which he did so fully, that he not only got safe out of their hands, but which was more, he convinced them that he was in the right: so the *Stone* was removed, and keeps the *Crucifix* company in the *Inquisition*.

But by these two Storys, you will perhaps imagine that I design to beget in you a good Opinion of that *Court*; but I will now tell you another, that will soon bring you back to your old thoughts of that Tribunal. *Burrhi* is a man so famous in the World, that one who has looked into Natural *Philosophy* and *Chimistry*, could not be long in *Rome* without making an acquaintance with him. but I will tell you truth, I neither found him to be so great a *Chimist* as he fancies himself to be, nor so great a *Heretick* as the *Inquisitors* have made him. I tell you this the more particularly, that you may upon it judge how much you are to believe the account that the *Inquisitors* may give of their proceedings against *Molinos*: since you may conclude from what was done to the one, what may be expected in all cases that are brought before so soon. *Burrhi's* Story is in short this: He is a Gentleman of the *Millanese*, who was born with an Estate of 8000 *Crowns* a year: In his youth he had travelled, and had got into his mind the Notions of the *New Philosophy* and

of *Chimistry*: so at his return to *Milan*, he began to propagate the *new Philosophy*, and to form a Conference upon those matters: the *Priests* it seems suspected, that there might be somewhat under this so he was put in the *Inquisition*, but nothing could be made out against him, he was let out: after that he went and staid for some years in *Germany* and *Holland*; and it is very probable that he might have expressed himself concerning the *Courts of Inquisition*, as a man that had no great opinion either of their Justice, or of their Mercy. And as he has gone into all the high pretensions of the *Chimists*, so it is probable enough that he has talked of matters of *Religion* in that Mysterious unintelligible *Jargon*, that is used almost by all the men that are of the highest Elevation of *Chimistry*, but chiefly by *Paracelsus* and *Vant Helmont*. In short, some Accusations were given in the *Inquisitors* against him, who complained of him to the *Emperor*, and had so much credit in his *Court* that he strained his power to the utmost, and seized on him, and sent him to *Italy*, where those good *Fathers* were resolved not to give him a second occasion of boasting, that he had got safe out of their hands: strange things were objected to him, and as is pretended, they were proved against him; as that the *B. Virgin* was God equal to the Son; and that the *H. Ghost* was incarnate

her, as well as the *Eternal Word* was in her Son: that the three Persons in the Trinity were the first, the second, and the third Heavens: that the Son was from all Eternity discontented with the Father, for not making him equal to him: that the Consecrated Host had in it the Body of the Mother as well as that of the Son: and that the putting the pieces of it together in the Chalice, demonstrated the Union between the Mother and the Son. These Opinions were all proved against him: tho he protests that he never thought of them, yet he was forced to abjure them in the year 1668. and was upon that condemned to perpetual Imprisonment; he continued in the Prison of the *Inquisition*, till within these five or six years, that the Duke d'Estrees being sick, procured an Order for having *Burrhi* to come and treat him; and ingratitude to *Burrhi*, who cured him, he got his Prison changed to the Castle *St. Angelo*: where he now entertains himself with *Chimical* Processes. It is indeed very probable, that he had provoked the *Inquisition*, by speaking severely and reproachfully of them, and this was all his Crime, unless another Article against him might be his *Estate*: for of his 8000. *Crowns* a year, there is but 2000. left him; for the good Fathers have had the Charity to take 5000. to themselves: and his 3000. is so eat up by them, thro whose hands it comes to him, that he has not 1500.

Crowns a year payed him: and from this you may see what credit you ought to give to the *Processes*, the *Articles*, and the *Abjuration* that are made before that *Court*.

If instead of that Zeal which animates them against *Herefy*, they would purge their own *Church* of those Disorders, which they themselves acknowledg to be corruptions, they would sooner bring themselves again into credit. The scandalous *Pictures* that are in many *Churches* of *Italy*, are things that might deserve their care, if they would turn it to that hand. Is it not a shameful thing, that there has not been a great *Master* in *Painting* who has not put that Complement on his *Mistress*, as to paint her for the *Virgin*: so that the most celebrated *Madonna's* of *Italy* are known to have been the *Mistresses* of the Great *Painters*. The *Postures*, the *Looks*, and the *Nakedness* of many of the *Church-pieces*, are Monstrous Indecent things. The great design of the *Cupulo* at *Florence*, is such a Representation of *Vice*, that all that can be presented by a defiled Imagination, comes short of what is to be seen there: and tho' the *Scripture* speaks but of one Apparition of the Holy Ghost in the shape of a Dove; one shall find this Dove on the Head, at the Ear, and the Mouth of I know not how many of their *Saints*; and as one finds in many *Pieces*, that their *Masters* have resolved to perpetuate their

their own Amours in them, so Amours are every day managed by the same methods: for while I was at Rome, I discovered an Intrigue between a *Fryer* and a *Nun*, by two *Pictures*, that were drawn for them: the *Fryer* was drawn as a *S. Anthony*, and the *Nun* as a *S. Katherine of Siena*: these they were to exchange, and so to feed their passion under this disguise of Devotion.

But to return to Indecent *Pictures*, there is nothing more scandalous than the many various Representations of the *Trinity*, which must needs give to all *Jews* and *Mahometans* as well as to us, that pass for *Hereticks*, a strange horror to a *Religion* that suffers those odious Resemblances, that give such gross Ideas of the *Deity*, and of the *Trinity*: and that which is yet the most scandalous part of those *Pictures*, is that the Representation of *God the Father* is often diversified according to the caprice of the Painter; and he is to be seen in the Habits of the several *Orders* of that *Church*, and indeed both Features, Hair, Habit, and Postures, have all the diversity in them that is necessary to feed an *Idolatry*, that is as Extravagant as it is gross.

The Picture of the *B. Virgin*, with the *Order* of the *Capuchins* under her *Petticoat*, is not very apt to raise Chast Idea's in those who look upon it. In short, whereas the Rule of the Antient *Architecture* of *Churches*, was to be

be low and dark, which was thought the most proper, for the Recollection of a man's Faculties, and by consequence for *Devotion*, is now quite altered: and a great *Cupulos* with a vast Illumination, are necessary to shew the Beauty of those rich Peices, which would be lost in *Churches* built as dark as the Antient Ones were.

I confess, those Pictures are charming things, if they were any where else than in *Churches*: but the pleasure they give, does so possess a man that begins to understand them, that it will kindle any thoughts in him, sooner than devout ones. I will not here let my Pen carry me into a Subject that must needs set all my thoughts on fire; and speak of the great *Pieces* of *Painting* that are in *Italy*, and of the many *Masters* that it produced in the last Age: who as they were such Extraordinary men, so they lived within the Compass of one Age, as if the Perfection in that amazing Art had been to dye with them, as well as it was born with them; this, I say, would make one think, that there are Revolutions and Aspects in the Heavens that are favourable or cross to Arts or Sciences: and that then, the most favourable Aspect for *Painting* that ever was, produced those astonishing performances. For tho the great decay of Learning that is every where, may be reasonably enough resolved in this, that whereas in the

last Age many great *Princes* were either *Learn-*
ed themselves, or at least they made it a
Maxim to protect and encourage *Learning*;
but this having at last grown to an excess of
Rudness and Pedantry, and *Princes* becom-
ing generally extream Ignorant, it came to
pass for a piece of breeding, to say nothing that
was beyond their pitch, or that seemed to
reproach their Ignorance: and those who
could not hide their *Learning*, were called
Pedants: and pedantry was represented so
odious, that Ignorance being the lasiest as
well as the surest way to avoid this, all men
took that very naturally; and when other
methods are as effectual to raise men to the
highest preferments either of the *Bar* or of
the *Pulpit* as true *Learning* or reall Merit,
few will chuse the long and tedious, and often
the most uncertain way, when the End that
they propose to themselves, may be cer-
tainly compassed by a more effectual and ea-
sier one, Flattery and Submissions are sooner
Learned and easier practised by men of low
and mean souls, than much hard and dry
study: thus, I say, the decay of *Learning* is
very easily accounted for, in the Age in which
we live: but as for the Art of *Painting*, it
is still in such esteem, and great pieces go
still at such vast rates, that if the Genius
and capacity for it were not lost, there is
encouragment enough still to set it a going!
but

but I leave this subject not without putting some constraint on my self; for who can think of such Wonderful men as *Correge*, *Michael Angelo*, *Raphael*, *Paulo Veronese*, *Julio Romano*, *Carracci*, *Palma*, *Titian* and *Tintoret*, without feeling a concern at every time that he reflects on the Wonders of their pencils: *St. Luke's* pretended work, and even the supposed performances of *Angels*, are sad things set near their pieces. One, whose thoughts are full of the Wonders of that *Art*, that are to be seen in *Florence*, goes into the *Annunciata*, and sees not without Indignation, that adopted picture of the *Virgin*, which, as the fond people there believe, was finished by an *Angel*, while the *Painter* that was working at it, and that could not animate it as he desired, fell asleep, who as soon as he awaked, saw his piece finished. This fiction of the painters, to raise the credit of his picture, is so well believed at *Florence*, that the presents made to enrich the *Altar* and *Chappel*, where it stands, are Invaluable: & yet after all, the *Angel's* work is still no better than the common painting of that time: and that *Angel-painter*, was but a bungler if compared, to the great *Masters*. In a word, what can be thought of humane nature, when in so refined a place as *Florence*, so coarse an imposture has been able to draw to it, such an Inestimable stock of Wealth.

All these things are so many digressions from my main subject, which was, to shew you how much matter the *Inquisitors* might find, if they would use any exactness in redressing those Abuses which they themselves will not defend in common conversation: and yet the smallest thing, that seems even at the greatest distance to go against their Interest, is lookt after with a very watchful care; yet the grossest of all Impostures, that proves profitable to them, is much encouraged by them.

The fable of *Loretto*, is so black and so ridiculous a piece of Imposture, that I never saw a man of sense, that cared to enter upon that subject. I was once in Company where I took the liberty to propose two modest exceptions to it: the one was, that about 400 years after the rest of the Angelical Labour in carrying about that Cottage is pretended to have fallen out, *Vincent Ferrer*, whom they believe a great Saint, not only says nothing of its being then in *Italy*, but says expressly, that it was then in *Nazareth*, and that many *Miracles* were wrought about it. *Antonin* of *Florence*; who is also the most illustrious Writer of *Legends* that ever was, says not a word of it some Ages after they say that it was at *Loretto*. All the answer that I had to this was, that it was no Article of Faith, but whether it was true or false, the Devotion

tion of the People was still entertained by it, and this, they said, was as much meritorious, tho founded on a Fable, as the giving of Charity to one who is believed a fit object, but, is indeed a Cheat, is acceptable to God: and thus he who gives upon a good inward motive, will be rewarded according to the Disposition of his Mind, and not according to the Truth or Falsehood of the *Story*, that wrought upon him. I durst not press this matter too far: otherwise I would have replied, that how excusable soever the Superstition of Ignorant People may be, yet this does not at all justify the Cheat that the *Church* puts upon her so easily deluded children. The truth is, the *Romans* themselves have not such false notions of all the points of *Controversy* as we are apt to Imagine: this makes me remember a conversation that past some years ago, between an *Abbot* & one of our *Clergymen*, that was then a Governour to a Person of Quality, that in his *Travels* stayed for sometimes at *Rome*. The *Abbot* seeing the Governour was considered as a man of *Learning*, desired to be informed of him, what were the *Points* in difference between the *two Churches*: so the Governour told him, that we had our worship in a known tongue; that we gave the *Cup* in the Sacrament; that we had no *Images*, and did not pray to *Saints*: all this did not disturb the *Abbot*, who said, that these were only

diffic

different *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which might be well enough born with: when the other added, that we did not believe *Transubstantiation* nor *Purgatory*, the *Abbot* said, these were the subtilties of the School: so he was very gentle till the *Governour* told him, that we did not acknowledge the *Pope*; then the *Abbot* was all on fire, and could not comprehend, how men could be *Christians*, that did not acknowledge *Christs Vicar*, and *S. Peter's Successor*: and it is very plain at *Rome* at this day, that they consider the *Conversion* of *Nations*, only as it may bring in more profit into the *Datary Court*, and raise the value of the *Offices* there; for when I seemed amased in conversation with some of them, to see so little regard had to the *Ambassadour* of *Eng.* to every thing, that he proposed; they told me plainly, that perhaps the *Angels* in *Heaven* rejoiced at the conversion of a sinner upon the pure motives of perfect *Charity*, but they at *Rome* looked at other things. They saw no profit like to come from thence; no *Bulls* were called for, and no *compositions* like to be made; if these things should once appear, then an *Ambassadour* from thence would be treated like the penitent *Prodigal*, especially if he were a little less governed by the *Jesuites*, who were believed to have managed that *Ambassadour* a little too absolutely: and here it will be no unpleasant digression if I tell you the

the true reason that retarded the *Promotion* of the Cardinal *d'Este* so long.

The *Pope* himself saw what the *Uncle* of the *Cardinal* did at *Rome*, in *P. Alexander* the 7th time, upon the business of the *Corfis*, and the affront that was put on the *Duke of Crequy*, which made so much noise. That *Cardinal* being then the *Protector* of the *French Nation*, offered first to the *D. of Crequy*, to go with him, accompanied with 500 Men, that he knew he could raise in *Rome*, to the *Palace of Don Mario Chigi*, and to sling him out at the window: but the *D. of Crequy* thinking that such a revenge went too far, the *Cardinal* himself went accompanied with his 500 Men to the *Palace*, and expostulated the matter with the *Pope*, and demanded *Reparation*; and when the *Pope* put it by in some general answers, he press'd him so hard, till the *Pope* threatened to pull his *Cap* from him, but he answered, that he would clasp a *Head-piece* on it, to defend it, and that he would never part with that, till he had pulled the *Tripple Crown* from his head; This was vigorous, and the *Cardinal* had a mind to perpetuate the memory of it, for he made himself be drawn with a *Headpiece* by him, his hand pointing towards it, which I saw at *Modena*; and it is plain by their way of speaking of this matter, that they were proud of it. The present *Pope* being at that time a *Cardinal*, saw this disorder, and so he was resolved never

to raise one of that family to the Purple: yet the earnest and repeated Instances from England, overcame him at last.

But now again I return to that from which I have digressed so often, which is the work that the *Inquisition* might find in *Italy*, even without departing from any of their received Principles. That scandalous Imposture of the blood of *S. Januarius* at *Naples*, that seems to be firm & dry in the *Vial*, and that dissolves and moves as it is brought near his Head, which is so firmly believed by all the bigots there, must needs give an indignation to all that love Truth, when they see such gross Deceptions put upon the World. I will not take upon me to say how it is managed; but nothing is more easy than the ordering of this matter may be. For if that *Vial* be filled with tinctured liquor, the *Vial* being put in Ice and Salt, will freeze in an Instant; and it being again in the air, may return very quickly to its former state, so that there is no need of any great skill for the conducting this matter: and it is so much their Interest, who have the keeping of this pretended Blood, to keep the secret very religiously, that it is no wonder if it is not discovered. He indeed who either doubts of it, or would adventure to discover it, must resolve to go and live some where else than in *Naples*, where this passes for the chief Glory, as well as the greatest blessing of their City: and the people there are so

extreamly credulous, and the *Priests* are so very Insolent, that this has appeared of late in such Instances, that if the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, were not both a very extraordinary man, and most excessively esteemed and beloved there, he could not have stood his ground in the Dispute which is now on foot. and, of which tho all the *Gazettes* make mention, yet I may perhaps tell you some particulars, that may be new to you; for I was in *Naples* while this matter was in its greatest heat.

The business of the *Ecclesiastical Immunities*, is carried so high here, that the *General* of the *Horse*, who is by birth a *Flemming*, had almost felt it to his cost; there were two under him, that had quarrelled, but were made Friends; and one of these meeting the other some days after that, he embraced him with all the shew of Friendship, but having a *Stiletto* in his hand, he managed it so fatally, that under all the appearances of tender Embraces, he killed him out-right, and presently he took Sanctuary in a *Church*, that was hard by; the *General* hearing of this, resolved he would make an Example of the *Murderer*: but not daring to drag him out of the *Church*, he set a *Sentinel* to the Doors, reckoning that hunger would soon force him to come out: and tho the *Priests* that belonged to the *Church*, carried him in some Provisions, yet that could not serve him long. But the *General* was forced to discharge

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the *Sentinels* : for he was Informed, that an *Excommunication* was coming out against him, for disturbing the devotions of those that went to the *Church* ; and he knew that if the *Excommunication* should be once given out, no body would so much as talk with him or come near him after that : so he would not run that risque : and this *Assassinate* had a fair occasion given him to make his escape : this was a good Essay of the Zeal for the *Immunity* of places. Another fell out about the same time near *Leghorn*, in which the sacredness of exempted persons was asserted in a manner that was no less scandalous ; a *Priest* was seized on, for a most horrid Crime, either a *Rape* or a *Murder*, I do not remember which : but he who had no mind to be taken, defended himself ; and shot one of the *Sbiri*, upon which the rest run away. So he apprehending that a stronger party would be sent, that would be too hard for him, went and retired into a Wood, with his *Fusée* ; and some being sent to find him out, he had shot six or seven of them ; yet after all the sacred Character was like to save this execrable man ; for while I was at *Leghorn* I was told that an *Excommunication* was coming out, against all that should violate the *Ecclesiastical Immunities* in his Person ; and no doubt the *Great Duke* will give way to this : for he is so entirely delivered up to his *Priests*, and is become so

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excessively scrupulous, that to deliver himself from those Troubles of Conscience, which many things, in the Administration of the Government are apt to give him, he has found out an easy receipt, which if all other Princes can be brought to follow, it will be very happy to their Ministers. He then considers, that the only sure way to be Innocent in the Conduct of Affairs, is not to know them at all: but to devote them entirely on his Ministers, who do all, without so much as communicating matters to him.

But the Viceroy of Naples is not so very intractable in those matters, as appears by the vigour with which he has supported the secular Tribunal against the Invasions of the Ecclesiastical Court. That which gave the rise to the dispute, was a *sute* that was between a Layman and a Church-man, before one of the Judges of Naples, who decided in favour of the Layman; upon which it was pretended that this was a Violation of the Immunities of the Church: so the Judge was Excommunicated. And upon it no body would willingly appear before him, or so much as speak to him, so terrible a thing is that Thunder there: but the Viceroy has shewed on this occasion, that firmness that has appeared in all his other Actions, and has also received Orders from Spain authorising him to keep his ground. The Judge will not only maintained in what he has done, but continues still to sit on the bench, all people are forced

forced to bring their causes before him; & his
 sentences are executed with resolution. This
 Contempt put on the Ecclesiastical Censures
 by a Minister of Spain, and at a time in which
 the Pope is so much in their Interests, is a little
 extraordinary. But the affront that the Vice-
 roy put on an Auditor of the Nuntio's, was
 much more provoking, for it was managed
 with a particular care to make the Scorn very
 sounding as well as it was publick. The Nun-
 tio is believed to do ill Offices in this matter;
 and his Auditor was known to be a man of Li-
 berty; it was found out that he went often to
 the *Bordello*; the Viceroy therefore gave order to
 watch him so carefully, that the *Sbiri* should
 be sure to find him in such circumstances, as
 should make his shame very Conspicuous: so
 he was taken, and carried before the next
 Judge: the thing was laid before hand, and the
 Judge refusing to meddle in it, the *Sbiri* (a sort
 of men like our Bailiffs) carried him to ano-
 ther, and so made the round of all the Judges
 in *Naples*; and every one of them refusing to
 meddle with the Auditor, the *Sbiri* let him go,
 when the matter was made sufficiently pub-
 lick, by their carrying him about to so ma-
 ny places. The Nuntio complained of the Vio-
 lation of the Rights of a Publick Minister, es-
 pecially of so sacred a one. But the Reparation
 the Viceroy made, was a redoubling of
 the Affront: for he ordered the *Sbiri* that had
 taken

taken the *Auditor*, to be carried about *Naples* with an *Inscription* writ in Capital Letters, both on their Breasts and on their Backs, mentioning the Crime for which they were thus lead about, *which was the having disturbed the Nuntio's Auditor in his pleasures.*

You will easily imagin that this was considered at *Rome* as a most outrageous Affront, and indeed the *Pope* has carried the matter of the *Regale* in *France* so very far, that it is hard to tell to what a degree this breach in *Naples* may be also carried: for tho the *Pope* is most excessively ignorant in all those Matters, yet he has another Quality, that is the only thing that is great in him, and that would indeed become him very well, if he had a little more Knowledge to govern it: and that is, *that he is the wilfullest man alive*; and his temper fearless enough to make him shut his Eyes on all Danger.

It cannot be denied, but it is the Interest of the *Pope*, as he is a *Temporal Prince*, to be of the side that is now the weakest, and that needs his support the most: and therefore it is no wonder if he is so favourable to the *Crown of Spain*, and the *House of Austria*; but after all, his carrying the business of the *Regale* so far, against so great a *King*, and a *King* that has merited so much from the *Church*, by his zeal against *Hereticks*,

somewhat unaccountable: After all the Ha-
 vock, that has been made both by *Princes*
 and *Popes* of the true Liberties of the *Church*,
 and particularly after that shameful Bargain
 that was made between them in the *Concor-*
date, it has a very ill grace to see a *Pope* make
 this the subject of so great and so long a Dis-
 pute; and that the factious Clamours of a
 few ill-natured and angry *Priests*, should
 have been so much considered, as to inter-
 rupt the good understanding of the *Courts* of
 the *Vatican* and *Versailles*. All this flowed
 from the ill opinion that the *Pope* had of the
Jesuites, which being known in *France*, the
Jansenists thought it was high time for them
 to recommend themselves to the *Cure* of
Rome, in hopes of mortifying the *Jesuites*:
 so they could not with any decency carry
 the *Papal Authority* high, after they had
 with so much force both of reason and learn-
 ing, depressed it as they had done: so they
 took themselves to the first thing that of-
 fered it self, that they knew would be very
 acceptable in *Rome*, which was the asserting
 the *Liberties* of the *Church*, and the dispu-
 ting the *Kings* Imposing the *Rights* of the
Regale (that is, the mean profits of *Bishopricks*,
 and the *Collating* to *Benefices* without *Cure*,
 during the *Vacancy*) on the four southern
 provinces of *France*. I will not say more of
 a matter that is so well known, only I will tell

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you,

you, what a Doctor of the *Sorbon* said to me upon this subject; I found he did not believe the *Pope's Authority* more than I did myself, and yet he was one of those that indirectly opposed the *Articles* of the *Clergy*, and the condemnation that was past on the Bishop of *Strigoni*'s Censure of those *Articles*; for his Authority and Learning gave a great turn to that matter: so when I seemed amazed at this, that a man of his Principles, had acted as he had done upon that occasion, he told me, he had no other Consideration before him in that matter, but to mortify the *Clergy* of *France*, and to maintain the Dignity of the *Sorbon*. It was not long since that in the Dispute about *Jansenius's* matter, they had made the *Pope* not only *Infalible* in matters of *Right*, but of *Fact*: and now because the *Pope* was not in the Interests of *France*, the dispute of *Infallibility*, and of the Council of *Constance* and *Basil*, were again set on foot, all which would be given up, and the *Pope* would be considered *Infalible* to morrow, if he were once more in the Interests of *France*, the *Clergy*, who had neither learning nor virtue, but made up all Defects, by a slavish Obsequiousness, would be then as forward to magnify the *Infallibility*, as they are now to depress it.

How far the *Pope* will embroil himself in this new business of the *Franchises*, I do not know: he has expressed a great steadiness

it; and the truth is, *Rome* is now so sunk from what it was, and the *Franchises* are so considerable a part of the City, that their being covered from the *Execution*, both of Civil and Criminal Justice, is a most horrible Disorder: and it seems reasonable enough, that as in all other Courts, there is nothing now under the *Ambassadors* Protection, but that which is within his Gates, so the same Regulation should be made in *Rome*; where the extent of those privileged Places is very great: yet after all, if the *French Ambassador*, that is now on his way thither, has positive Orders to maintain them, and has money enough to lift men, if the matter goes on to a more obstinate Dispute; It will be no hard matter for him to raise such a Revolt in *Rome*, that neither the *Popes Guards*, nor those in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, will be able to subdue it: and if this matter goes on so far, the *French* will very probably cut off all *Annates*, and find a shorter way of granting of *Bulls* within the *Kingdom*. It is said, that while some have represented the apparent Inconveniences of a Rupture with *France* to the *Pope*, and that he was in no condition to resist that mighty Power: He answered, that he would suffer himself a Martyrdom in maintaining the Rights of *Peter*. It must be confessed, that there was something in this saying that was more Magnanimous, than prudent. And in-

deed the *Popes* way of treating with *Ambassadors*, has somewhat in it that comes nearer the simplicity of the *Fishermen*, the more modern *Politicks*. His dry Answer to the *Ambassador* of *E.* when he threatned him that he would leave *Rome*, and go home, if he were not better used; *Lei e Padrone; You are Master of that as you please*; had an air in it that I should have been much pleased with, if it had fallen on any other than on the *King's Minister*.

His Conduct of the *Revenue* is an unaccountable thing; for if there is not a vast *Treasure* laid up, or a most prodigious deal of *Wealth* secretly conveyed to his *Family*, it is not to be imagined what has become of all that *Revenue* that he has raised, in which the *Income* is so vastly disproportioned to the expence, that the most prying men do not know what is become of it. The War with the *Turks* has not cost him so much as is believed; on the contrary, many think that he has got by it; and that the *Taxes* which he has laid on the *Clergy* of *Italy* amount to more than he has laid out upon it: It is certain, it has not cost him very much. He retrenched all Expences to so great a degree, that even the publick *Charities* were lessened: for in *Lent*, there is a weekly Charity of a *Julio*, or a six pence, to all the *poor* that come and ask it: and the *poor* commonly brought their Children with them.

them, so that they got as many *Julio's* as they brought *Children*; but the *Pope* limited this, that no *Charity* should be given to any under such an Age, as I remember it was below ten years old. The Administration of the *Revenue* is indeed the only thing that he understands, and in which he employs all his thoughts: and it was believed, that the true Secret of the greatest number of the *Cardinals* in the last *Promotion*, was the Advantages that he made by the sale of the *Offices* which they held, and that fell to the *Pope* upon their Advancement; out of which it was thought that he gained above a *Million*: and upon this I will tell you, what I have learned concerning the aversion that two of the *Cardinals*, *Taia* and *Ricci*, expressed to the *Purple* in the *Promotion* that was made five year ago; this was magnified in several Books, that were printed out of *Italy*, as somewhat that seemed to approach to the best Ages of the Primitive Times, when men refused to accept of so great a *Dignity*, that brought them within a step of the *Supream Elevation*: but the truth of this matter was, they were both men of *Fourscore*, and not like to live long; as they both died within a year of their Preferment: they had very good employments, which they had bought, and which by their accepting the *Purple* were to fall into the *Popes* hands: besides that, the new *Dignity* was not

to be entred upon without a great Expence: so all this being considered, the vertue of refusing so chargeable a *Dignity*, in men that were more concerned for their *Families*, than for that small remnant of life that was before them, was not so very Extraordinary.

But since I am upon the discourse of *promoting* of *Cardinals*, I will tell you a remarkable Instance of a *Promotion*, that I do not remember to have met with in any *Book*; and the *Dignity* of the *Person* and of the *Family* descended from him makes me think it worth the relating; and the rather because I had it from no ordinary person, but from one of the exactest men in *Rome*, and who has taken the greatest pains to be well Informed in the *Modern History*. I had seen several pictures of *Clara Farnese*, for there are more than one of them in the *Palestrina*: so I knowing nothing concerning her, asked her story, which in short was this: that she was P. *Paul* the 3^d's *Sister*, and the person to whom he owed his *Cardinals Cap*, and by Consequence all that followed upon it, tho he rewarded her ill for it; for he *possessed* both *her* and his *Mother*, that he might have all their *Wealth*; their *Father* was a poor man, that went about selling *Saucidges* and such sort of stuff. *Clara* was married young, and was soon a *Widow*; she was a lovely woman, but no Extraordinary beauty: her *Brother* was bred to Letters, and was one of those

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poor *Churchmen*, that was looking about on all hands where he might find a Patron; when of a sudden his *Sister's* charms and her artifices together raised him to a height, to which he was far enough from pretending at that time. On a great occasion *Clara Farnese* was so near P. *Alexander* the 6th, and was so much in his Eye and in his thoughts, that he ordered one that was about him, to enquire who she was, and where she lived: Instruments upon such occasions are never wanting to great Persons: and notwithstanding the *Popes* great Age, yet his Vices being still so close to him, that he could have no quiet till *Clara Farnese* was brought him. She resolved to manage her self on this occasion, and to raise her price all that was possible, so a *Cardinals Cap* to her Brother was both asked and granted: a promise of it was made at least, upon which she came and attended on the old lewd *Pope*: yet when the next *Promotion* came to be in agitation, the Proposition for *Abbot Farnese* was rejected by *Cesar Borgia* with scorn; he had never been a slave to his word, and he had no mind that his *Father* should observe it on this occasion.

The way of a *Promotion* is this, the *Pope* settles the *List* of the *Cardinals*, and writes down all their names in a paper with his own hand; and in a *Consistory*, when all other business is ended, he throws down the *Paper* on the *Table*, and say's to the *Cardinals*, *habetis Fratres*;

you have now some Brethren. One of the Secretaries upon that takes up the Paper, and reads the Names aloud; and the *Sbirri* are at the door, and as soon as one is named, they run for it, to see who shall be able to carry the first news of it to the party concerned.

Upon this occasion, the *Pope* after he had concerted the *Promotion* with his *Son*, writ down all the names. *Clara Farnese* was in great apprehensions for her *Brother*, so she being to pass that night with the *Pope*, rise when the old man was fast asleep, and searched his Pocket, and found the *Paper*, but her *Brothers* name was not in it: then she set her self with great care to counterfeit the *Popes* hand; and writ her *Brothers* name the first in the *List*: next morning she kept the *Pope* as long in bed as was possible; till word was brought him, that the *Consistory* was set, and that the *Cardinals* were all come: for she reckoned that the less time that the *Pope* had for being drest, there was the less Danger of his looking into his *Paper*: So without ever opening it, he went into the *Consistory*, and according to Custom, he threw down the *list* on the Table: but to the great surprise of him, and of all that were upon his Secrets, the first name that was read, was that of *Abbot Farnese*; and it seems the *Pope* thought it better to let the matter pass, than to suffer the true secret of the business to break out. It is well that the Doctrine of the Inter-

tion, does not belong to the Creation of Cardinals, otherwise here was a Nullity with a Witness. Thus begun that long course of P. Paul the third's greatness, who lived above 50 years after this, and laid the Foundation of the Family of Parma, which he saw quite overthrown, his Son being assassinated in his own time; and both his Grand children having revolted against him, which, as was believed, precipitated his death, tho he was then Four-score.

But now I return to the present Pope; for I have writ you a very loose sort of a Letter, all made up of digressions. His aversion to the Order of the Jesuites is very visible; for he takes all occasions to mortify them; and every thing that is proposed to him, thrives the worse for their sakes, if he believes they are concerned in it; which was given by all at Rome, as the true reason of the cold usage that the Ambassador of E. found there. Indeed the Pope is not singular in the hard thoughts he has of that Order: I never saw an Indifferent man in all Italy, that was of another mind: they do generally look upon them as a Covetous, Fraudulent, Intriguing, and turbulent sort of people; who can never be at quiet, unless they reign: who are men of no Morals that will stick at nothing that may raise the Wealth and Power of their Order: and at Rome they do not stick to say, that all the con-

cerns of the *Roman Catholick Religion* must needs miscarry in *E*. because the *Jesuites* are so much in credit there. And indeed the Extravagantly vain *Letters* that they write to *Rome* out of *England*, are such contextures of *Legends*, that ever since I saw them, I know what value I ought to put on their *Letters* that come from the *Indies* and other remote *Countrys*; for when they take so great a *Liberty* when the *Falseness* is so easily found out, what must we think of the *Relations* that come from places at such a distance, that they may lie with more assurance and less hazard of discovery.

The *Letter* that was writ in *February* last from *Liege* to the *Jesuites* at *Friburg*, of which so many *Copies* were given, that it got to the *Press* at last, was a good Instance of their *Vanity*, and of the small regard that they have to a *Prince*, that has as they give out, so much for them. Their representing the *King*, as so concerned in the *Interests* of their *Order*; that he espoused them all as if they were his own, that he was now become a *Son* of the *Society*, and that he was received into a communication of the *Merits* of the *Order*, (tho a share in their *Treasure* upon *Earth* were a much more considerable thing, than of their *Treasure* that is *Invisible*;) Their setting out the *Kings Zeal* for their *Religion*, in such high terms, that they say he is resolved to die a *Martyr* rather than not to succeed in his de-

sign of changing the Religion, and converting the Nation: and this at a time when the King was declaring himself so much for *Liberty of Conscience*: and their affirming that the King is become bigotted to so high a degree, as to refuse to suffer a *Priest* to kneel down and do the duty of a *Subject* in kissing his Hand, and to tell him, that he himself ought rather to kneel down, and to kiss his Hands: all these are such Extravagant strains, that by the boldness of them it is Evident, that they were writ by a *Jesuite*, and my Copy came to me from so good a hand, and so near the source, that how many Falshoods soever may be in that Letter, I can assure you, it is no Imposition, but was really writ by those of *Liege*.

In a word, all the *Romans* have so very ill an Opinion of the *Jesuites*, that as soon as any piece of *News* comes from *England*, that is not favourable to their Affairs, one finds all, from the highest to the lowest, agree in the same short reflection; Thus it must ever be, where the *Jesuites* have such a share in the Councils. A man long practised in the Court of *Rome*, told me, it was impossible it could be otherwise, for all the chief men of that Order are kept teaching in their Schools, till they are almost forty years of age; and by that means Pedantry, a disputatious and superious humour, and a peevish littleness of soul, becomes natural to them, so that at

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Eminent man here said to me, *It was Impossible that matters could go better than they did in E. as long as the Morals and the Politicks of the Jesuites, and the Understandings and Courage of the Irish, were so much relied on.*

But besides all these General Considerations, there are some things in the Constitution of the Order of the Jesuites that give those at Rome reason enough to be on their Guard against them. There are two things peculiar to this Order that makes it very formidable; the one is, that those who have made the fourth vow are capable of no Preferment, unless it be to be Cardinals, and then they are indeed capable of Bishopsricks. In most of the other Orders, every man has his own private Interest, and his particular views; so that they are not always looking after the concerns of their Order. But a Jesuite can receive no Honour but from his Order, therefore he Consecrates himself to it, and advances the Interests of the Society with all possible zeal, knowing that there is no other way left him to advance his own Interests, but this. So that Hope being one of the great Springs of humane Nature, a Jesuite, who hopes for nothing but from his Order, must be extreamly devoted to it. Besides this, a Jesuite fears nothing but from his Order: They have not a Cardinal Pre

rector, as the other Orders have, to whom an Appeal lies from the sentence of the General of the Order: but the Jesuites are a body more shut up within themselves; for the sentence of the General is definitive, and can never be reviewed, no Appeal lying from it: whensoever a Pope comes that dares mortify them, he will open a way for Appeals, for till that is done, the General of the Jesuits is the most Absolute and the most Arbitrary Sovereign that is in the World.

All these things concur to Unite almost all the several Interests in Rome against this Society, which yet is strong enough to support it self against them all: they have the Mission generally in their hands; for the Congregation de Propaganda, pays a small pension of 20 Crowns to all the Secular Priests that are on the Mission, whereas the Jesuites bear the expences of their own Missionaries to whom they allow an 100 Crowns a year: & those of the Propaganda being willing to be rid of a charge, accept of the Missionaries that the Jesuites offer them: and they find their account in this. Their Missionaries are powerfully recommended, so they are quickly received into Families; especially where there are young-children to be bred up; or Estates to be managed: for in these two lies their strength: but they never forget their Order, of which they are as so many Factors every where;

where: and they draw vast Presents from all places to the *House* that returns them their Appointments; whereas the poor *Secular Priests* must make a shift to live out of the small allowance that he has from the *Congregation de Propaganda fide*, and out of what he can raise by his *Masses*. Therefore there is nothing that they desire so much; as to see *Protestant States* that give a Tolerance to *Popery*, grow once so wise as to shut out all the *Regulars*, and above all the *Jesuits*; and to admit none but *Secular Priests*: for the former, as they are so many *Agents*, to return all the wealth that they can possibly draw together, to the *house* to which they belong, so they are united together in one Body, under a most strict Obedience to their *General*, which may be a great a prejudice to the Peace and Security of a *Country*, as the other is to its Wealth and Abundance: on the other hand, the *Secular Priests* are generally good natured men, who are only subject to their *Bishop*, and that have no designs upon the *Government*, nor the Concerns of any *House* that is in *Forreign Parts* lying upon them: so that since those of the *Communion* have the full exercise and all the Consolation of their Religion from *Secular Priests*, even those in *Rome* it self wonder at the Error of *Protestant States*, who have not Learned long ago to make this difference in the Toleration that they allow: And one the

has been almost 50 years in the most refined practices of the Court of Rome, said to me with a very sensible concern, *how happy would we here reckon our selves, if we could have a Toleration of our Religion allowed in England, tho it were with an Eternal Exclusion of all Regulars and Jesuites?* and added, that if he saw good grounds for making it, he himself would go and carry the Proposition to those of the Propagan-

And now I am sure, I have rambled over a great Variety of matter, and have made shift to bring in to one place or other of this Letter, a great many particulars, that I could have hardly brought out in an exactness of Method, without a much greater compass of words, and a greater stiffness of form: but I thought it was more natural, and by consequence, that it would be more acceptable to you, to make them follow one another, in an easy and unforced contexture. I have discoursed all these matters often over and over again since I came into Italy: but I have read very little concerning them; therefore there may be many things here, that I mention because they were new to me, that perhaps are no newes to those that are much more Learned than my self. I have told you all that I could gather upon these subjects from the wisest and worthiest men that

I

I found here : I have writ of all matters freely to you, because I am in a Country where freedom of discourse, in matters of State especially, is practised in its utmost extent.

I have yet matter for another long letter, in which the matters of *Religion* will have no share ; for I will end all these in this ; and therefore there is one piece of the *Superstition* of *Lombardy*, that affected me too sensibly, not to lead me to bestow a severe censure upon it. I went through that Country in *October* and *November*, and was often in great distress, because it was not possible to find a Glass of *Wine*, that could be drunk all being either dead or sour. At *Parma* I waited on an Eminent Person, and lamented to him the misery of Travellers, since no *Wine* was to be found that could be drunk : he told me, the *Natives* felt this much more sensibly than *Strangers* did, with whom it was soon over, but they were condemned to suffer that every year ; and tho he himself had *Vineyards*, that produced much more *Wine* than he could consume, yet he could not be Master of a good Glass of *Wine*, for a great many Months of the year ; since all the people were possessed with this *Superstition*, that it was Indispensably necessary to mix with *Water* in the Cask, that by this means it drunk dead or sour for so great a part of the year.

and all that could be said could not beat this out of the heads of those that dressed their *Wine*: but he added, that the *Priests*, who confirmed the *vulgar* in this Conceit, had found a Device to excuse their own *Wine* from this hard fate: for they said, it must needs be kept unmixed since in the *Sacrament* the *Wine* must be pure, and is then only to be mixed with *Water*; and thus in all their *Cellars* good *Wine* is to be found, where there is not a drop any where else that can be drunk: one would think that this is to abuse the Weakness and Credulity of the *People*, a little too grossly, when they condemn all the *laity* to drink ill *Wine*, whereas they themselves drink it pure, which is felt more sensibly by the *Laity*, than the depriving them of the *Chalice*, and the engrossing it to the *Priest* in the *Sacrament*. Yet the *Excise* that is laid on the *Wine* in *Florence*, has taught the *Inhabitants* a point of Wisdom, that those on the other side of the *Appenins* are not capable of; for the *Excise* being raised upon all their *Wine*, the *People* who have no mind to pay *Excise* for *Water*, keep their *Wine* pure, so perhaps some such severity in the Government in *Lombardy*, may likewise reform them in this piece of absurd *Superstition*, which I felt too sensibly with all the effects that naturally follow the drinking of sour Liquor, not to insist upon it with some more than ordinary concern.

But

But since I am upon the point, of the *Convents* have to live easy, I will give you in this *Letter* with an account of a *Horse*, that was very Extraordinary, which I saw in my way to *Italy* thro' *Bavaria*; *Etal*, an *Abbot* of *Benedictines*; that by its Foundation is bound only to maintain an *Abbot* and *Monks*. It was founded by *Leopold* Duke of *Bavaria*, that was *Emperor*: the Building is not answerable to the Endowment, which is so vast, that they keep a *Stable* of 150 *Horses*, which is indeed one of the best in *Germany*; the *Horses* are of great value, and well kept: they hunt perpetually, and live in as great abundance of all things as the *Duke* of *Bavaria* himself can do; and yet these are *Religious Men*, that are dead to the World.

I cannot forget to tell you a very beautifully diversified *Prospect* that we had at *Burgo*, a little *Town* in the Hills of *Trent*, when we looked out at Window, we saw before us a lovely *Meadow* in all the Beauty and Pride of the Month of *May*: a little beyond that was a rising *Bank*; all covered over with *Trees* in their full *Verdure*: beyond that the ground rises higher, and the *Trees* had not yet put out their *Leaves*, and things look dead and dry, as after *Harvest*: and beyond that there was a huge *Hill*, all covered on the top with *Snow*: so that where we saw in one *Prospect* all the seasons of the Year: upon which

the of the Company made this Reflection,
will if any *Painter* should in one *Landkip*;
se, all these things, that were then in our
w in he would be thought a Man of an Irre-
n All his Fancy, whose designs did not agree with
ation ture; and yet we had them all then before
and I will make no Excuses nor Compliments:
Duke those things do not mend matters, and
Build therefore I send you my send you my *Letter*, such
which is, just as it as grown under my Pen:
Hence so *Adieu*,

POSTSCRIPT.

find I have forgot to mention one very ex-
travagant piece of *Devotion*, to which I
was a *Witness* at *Rome*, on the 17th of *January*
which is *St. Anthony's* day, that was the great
father of the *Monastick Orders*, whose *Life*
pretended to be writ by *St. Athanasio*; all *Hor-*
and other *Beasts* of *Burden* are believed to
be in an especial manner under his *Protection*:
and the *Monks* of his *Order*, have a *House*
near *St. Maria Maggiore*; thither all the *Hor-*
Mules and *Asses* of *Rome*, and all round
the *City*, are brought that day to the door of
the *Church*, where some *Monks* stand with a
broom in *Holy Water*, and sprinkle it upon
them all: many *Dogs* and *Lambs*, and other
favo-

favorite *Animals*, are also brought to be used in this *Asperſion*: which is believed to have the most ſpecial vertue: the force of this habiting is believed to be ſuch, that if any ſhould fail to bring his *Horſes* thither, all the Neighbourhood would look on thoſe that have a Portion in it, as accuſed *Animals*, upon whom ſome unlucky Accident were hanging, which is ſo firmly believed, that none would hire a *Horſe* or a *Mulet*, that had not been ſprinkled. So that from the Popes *Houſe*, down to the pooreſt Man in *Rome*, all are brought thither; but this is not all, the profitable part of this piece of Folly is, that every one brings a Preſent; the richer ſort ſend Purſes of *Money*; ſome give great Waxen Lights, all ſtuck full of *Taſtons* (a piece of 20 Pence) the Poor bring either ſmaller pieces of *Money*, or Preſents of *Wine*, *Oyl*, *Bread*, or ſuch things as they can afford: in a Word, no Man comes empty; ſo that this is the Market-day of thoſe *Monks*, which for ſome Gallons of *Water* and *Salt* they get more Preſents, than would ſerve to maintain them for ſeven Years: they quickly convert all that is not neceſſary for them into *Money*; and by this means they are vaſtly rich. When I ſaw all this, I could not but think that Men muſt become firſt Beaſts themſelves, before things of this kind could paſs upon them: but ſince I have added

Med this in a *Postscript*, rather than give my
self the trouble to make it come in pertinent-
ly into my *Letter* I will add another particular
that is writ me from *Rome* the sixth of *Octo-*
ber 1687.

I am told, that Men are now more puzzled
with their thoughts with Relation to the Business
of *Molinos* than ever. It was visible that his
Abjuration was only a pretended thing; for
in effect he has abjured nothing: his party be-
lieve, that they are very numerous, not only
all *Rome, Italy, Spain, and France*, and in all
the parts of the World, but that they
have many followers even in *America* it self;
and see now in almost all the Churches in
Wars some of them *Praying* in Corners, with
their Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven,
and all in Tears and Sighs; which is no
small Trouble to those who thought they had
quite routed them: but find they are not so
much quashed as it was thought they would
have been by the mock Triumph that was
made upon *Molinos*. Nor do they believe a
word of those Reports that are spread of his
cleanness: they say, there was no Proof ever
brought of it; and that there are many thou-
sands in *Rome* of both Sexes, that conversed
much with him, who have all possible reason to
conclude, that all these Stories that were
given out concerning him, are impudent Ca-
lumnies, set about only to blast *Him* and his
Do

Doctrine : and the Truth is, this seems to be much confirmed by the *Bull* that condemns his Books, and his *Doctrine*; in which mention is made of his ill *Life* and *Hypocrisy*, which had been very probably done if the matter had been well proved : since this would not only have satisfied People, with relation to him, but would have very much Confirmed the Accusations of those horrid *Opinions* that are laid to his Charge, Which had appeared with much more Evidence, if it had been found that his *Life* had agreed with those *Tenets* : for though it had not been a just Inference to conclude him guilty of those things, because they were charged on him in the *Bull*, yet one may reckon it almost a sure Inference, that he is not guilty of them, since the *Bull* does not tax him for them.

A THIRD LETTER,

Concerning some of the

STATES

OF

ITALY;

And of their present Interest and
Policy.

SIR,

I Threw into my former *Letter*, all those general *Reflections* on the State of *Religion*, and the *Maxims* of the *Romans*, concerning it, that I could gather together during my Stay at *Rome*. Now I quit that Subject, and shall at present en-

entertain you with some *Political Observations*, which will be so much the more acceptable, because I fancy they will be new to you.

But before I go so far as *Italy*; I will give you an account of a very curious *Salt-work* that I saw in my way to *Italy*, at *Sode* near *Francfort*. It belongs to Mr. *Malapert*, and has been wrought above 60 Years; but the present Master of it, as he is a Man of great worth, so he is very ingenious, and has much perfected that, which was managed at much greater Expence before he undertook it. There rises at the foot of some little *Hills* which produce a very good *Wine*, a *Spring of Water*, that is so very little Brackish to the taste, that one will hardly think it possible to fetch much *Salt* out of it; yet it has such a taste of *Salt*, that there was room for Industry to prepare this *Water*, so that without such an expence in Fire as should eat out the profit it might turn to a good account; which Mr. *Malapert* seems to have carried as far as is possible. The *Meadow* that lies in the Level with this *Spring*, is impregnate with *Salt*, *Iron*, *Nitre* and *Sulphur*: but *Salt* is that which prevails: First then, a Pump is put up on this *Spring*, which is managed by a *Water-mill*, and throws up the *Water* about fifteen Foot high; and then it goes by a *Pipe* into vast *Machines*, that are made to receive it.

There

There is a great piece of ground Inclosed, in which there are 24 vast *Chests* or *Cisterns* for the *Water*, in two *stories*, 12 in a *Story*, the one just over the other; they are about *seventy* foot long, *twelve* broad, and *two* deep; over every one of these, there is a roof of boards, supported by wooden *Pillars*, of 12 foot high; which covers them from *Rain-water*, but yet the water within them is in a full exposition to the *Sun*; those roofs are hung with straw, upon which some that manage the work, are often throwing up the *Water*, so that a great deal of the *phlegme* is imbibed by the *Straw*, and the more fixed parts fall down: according to the heat of the *Season*, this *Evaporation* of the watry parts, goes quicker or slower; there is a *Gage*, by which they *Weigh* the *Water*, and so they know how the *Evaporation* advances; it is of *Silver*; and is so made, that according to the weight of the *Water*, it sinks in it to such a depth; & so by the degrees markt upon it, they know how heavy the *Water* is: according then to the heat of the season, and the progress of the *Evaporation*, they let the *Water* out of one *Cistern* into another, by a *pipe*, and when it has past thro the 12 that are in the upper story, then it is conveyed down by *Pipes* into the 12 that are below, and in them all they continue still to throw up the water upon the *Withs* of *Straw*, that are over head.

In a word, this *Evaporation* discharges the

G

Water

Water of so much of its *Phlegm*, that the same quantity of water, that weighed once ounce when it was drawn from the *Spring*, weighs six ounces in this last Chest : and all this rolling about of the *Water* from Chest to Chest lasts sometimes not above twenty days ; but if the season is only moderately hot, it will be longer a doing ; sometimes it will not be done in a months time : after that the *Water* is brought to a very considerable degree of *Saltiness*, it is conveyed into two great *Cauldrons*, that are 13 foot long, 10 broad, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ deep ; under which there are vast *Furnaces*, where in a most violent *Fire* of 11 or 12 hours continuance the *Water* receives its last *Evaporation* ; and when that is done, the *Salt* which is become thick, but is still moist, is taken up in Baskets of Willows, and plac'd about the Wall of the *Furnace* ; and so the humidity that remains in it, drops out, and is brought to its last degree of perfection : out of it a *Tisbe* is paid, of which the Elector of *Ments* has one half, and the City of *Francford* the other. This *Salt* is exceeding good, & pleasant to the taste. It is much solider, and more like the *Portugal Salt*, than like our *Newcastle Salt*. It serveth very well all the uses of the *Kitchen*, and *Table* : but it has not strength enough to preserve things long. There are vast quantities made of it in hot and dry Summers : for the *Chests* are always kept full : and thus all

Franconia is furnished with *Salt* of its own production at very moderate rates; for there is so great a lessening of the Expence of the fire by this conveyance of the Water through so many Chests, that it is afforded very cheap. This I thought deserved well that I should interrupt the earnestness in which you may be, to hear what I have to tell you concerning *Italy*; so that I hope you will not be ill pleased with it, especially if your curiosity after the History of Nature is as great as it was.

I now go over in one step all the Journey that I made from hence to *Italy*, which is certainly the highest situated Country in *Europe*: For as the *Rhine* and *Danube*, that rise in the *Alpes*, and run down to the *Ocean* and the *Euxine*, shewes you that all that Tract of ground to those Seas is a constant descent; so when one comes to the *Alps*, either on the *French* or on the *German* side, he is a great many days in climbing up those vast Mountains, but the descent on the *Italian* side is very inconsiderable. This appears yet more sensible when one comes from *Turin*, where the ascent up Mount *Senice* is but a work of a few hours: and yet from the height of that Hill, one is in a constant descent till he comes to *Lions*. I will not carry you about *Italy*, to tell you the remarkable things that are there; but will only tell you some particulars that made the greatest Impression on my self, and

which were not seen by Dr. Burnet.

In my way from *Parma* to *Mantua*, I pass at *Gaufale*, which is half way between them, 18 miles distant from both; where I saw a scene that surprized me. This *Town* is situated on the southside of the *Po*, at half a miles distance from it: It was a considerable branch of the Territory of *Mantua*, that was given off to one of the *Cadets* of that *Family*, and was settled in an intail to the *Heir Male*. The best part of the Revenue of this small *Principality*, was a Duty that was payed for all *Merchandises* that went or came upon the *Po*, which when the Trade of *Italy* was in a more flourishing condition than it is at present, was farmed for above threescore thousand *Crowns*. The situation of this place makes it yet much more considerable than it is in it self; for as it lies in the neighbourhood of the *Principalties* of *Parma* and *Modena*, and is not far from the *Pope's* Territory, so if this place is Master of the *Po*, by crossing it, the detachments that may be sent out from it are not only in the Territory of *Mantua*, but they may be also in a very few hours both in the *Milanese* and in the *Venetian* Dominion; so that *Gaufale* in some respect may be esteemed the Center of all the *States* of *Lombardy*. The Duke of *Mantua* married the Daughter of last Duke of *Gaufale*, who died in the year 1680. and his Nephew *D. n. Vespasiano Gonzaga*, who was then in

the *Spanish* service, was acknowledged to be his undoubted *Heir*: so he came & took peaceable possession of his *Dutchy*: He was extremely much beloved by his *Subjects*, and thought himself at quiet in the enjoyment of his new Dignity: but all this was soon overturned; for one came to him from the *Court of France*, to let him know, that that *Great King* could not be wanting to his *Ally* the Duke of *Mantua*, to whom *Gaufale* belonged of right, his *Dutchess* being the Daughter and *Heir* of the late *Duke*, and that therefore since he had usurped the just right of another, the *French King* warned him, that if he did not withdraw of his own accord, he would give order to put the D. of *Mantua* in possession. It was to no purpose to argue against all this, and to shew the Messenger that *Gaufale* was a *Fee* intailed on the *Heir Male*, of which there had never been the least dispute: But reasons taken from the equity of the thing, are seldom thought strong enough to hold the ballance against reasons of State: so the poor *Prince* being in no condition to resist so powerful an Enemy, was forced to abandon his Right, and to withdraw, and he was again entertained by the *Spaniards*. For tho there was a sort of a *Fortification* cast about *Gaufale* 50 or 60 year ago, yet as that was at best an inconsiderable defence, so even that was now quite ruined

ned. Upon his retiring there came a detachment of 300 Men from *Cassale*, who took possession of *Guaftale*, and continue there to this day: but this had been no great matter, if it had not gone further: some years passed after the new *Duke* was driven away before the true design of this matter appeared. The world was first to be laid to sleep. The *Town* it self is composed of about six or seven thousand *Inhabitants*; and so the small *Garrison* in it seemed of no great Consequence, and was rather an Advantage than a prejudice to the *Town*; they were kept in very good order, and they payed punctually for every thing that they called for: only they brought the place in to the Method of a *Garrison*, for all must come in and go out of the *Town* only at one Gate.

But in the beginning of the year 1686. the mystery of this matter begun to appear: for Mr. du *Plessis*, a French *Engineer*, came thither, under the pretence of repairing the old *Fortifications*, and designed a Noble and a Regular *Fortification*: It is to be a *Hexagon*, with all necessary Out-works; and there is a great *Splanade* that is to be made round the place, and all the houses or trees that are within a considerable distance are to be beat down. In a word, the design is great, and will be executed in all the exactness of the modern *Fortification*; so that the advantage of the situation, will make it the most important place

place of *Italy*, and that which will bridle all *Lombardy*, and be able to put it all under Contribution upon every occasion. The Works were begun in April 1686, and ever since they have kept 400 *Men* constantly at work, upon the pay of a *Julio* a day: another year will go near to finish it. And yet tho here the justest ground possible is given to alarm all *Italy*, none seems to be so much as concerned at it. The *Venetians*, that have at all other times, valued themselves upon their prospect of danger, even at the greatest distance, either do not see this, or dare not own their Fear. It is true, all this is carried on in the Name of the D. of *Mantua*: but it is as certain that tho it lies so near him, he has never been at the pains to go and see it: It has never been so much as once considered by his *Council*; nor is his Revenue in such a condition as to bear such an encrease of Expence: and yet it passes among the People there, that this is a great strength, that is to be made to keep the *French* out of *Italy*; and some *Priests* that are corrupted to serve the *French Interests* promote this Fiction. If the *Venetians* look on till this is finished, they will do very well to assure themselves of their new Conquests in the *Morea*, for their Antient Ones in the *Terra firma* of *Italy* will probably fail them very quickly.

All those of the Territory, who know well that their Princes Name is only made use of,

for the *fortifying* this place, look on with great regret, while they see a Work advancing so fast, that is to be a *Citadel* upon all their *Country*: of which an Ancient Person of *Quality*, that is there, spoke to me with so much feeling, that he could hardly forbear weeping, when he shewed me that Yoke of Slavery under which they were falling. I saw, during my stay in *Mantua*, how much all the sensible people there, are concerned to see their Prince deliver himself up so blindly to the *French Interests*: they told me, that since his *Childhood* he has been so beset with the *Instruments* and *Agents* of that *Court*, that his Inclinations for them are become as another nature in him: he was not out of *Childhood*, when almost all his *Domeicks*, and his *Masters*, both for *Languages* and *Armes*, were furnished him from thence. His putting *Cassale* in the hands of that *Monarch*, was one good Evidence, and now the business of *Gausale* is another, to shew that they have gained such an Ascendant over his Spirit, and have insinuated themselves so much into him, in all those fatal hours of Liberty which he allows himself, that it is not thought he will stick at any thing that they demand of him, unless it be at his own going into *France*; to which he has been much solicited: but it is not so much as doubted, that if he goes once into that *Country*, he will never come out of it again. So he is

not

not like to be wrought on so far; and if it were not for some such apprehension, it is like enough that he might undertake the journey; for he does not love staying in his *Principality* so well, but takes pleasure to ramble about; and he devests himself often of the Ceremonies of his *Greatness*, that so he may take a freer career in those *Exercises*, that he loves better than his *Affairs*: and a *Prince*, whose *Revenue* is none of the greatest, and whose expence is often Irregular, who has an active *Envoy* always near him, and who is ever ready to furnish him with *Money*, falls naturally into a great dependance on that *Court*.

Of this a very Extraordinary Instance appeared not long ago, in the Disgrace of the Marquisses of *Cannosse* and *Palliotti*: the first of these is his *Kinsman*, and has served him now for many years, with as much Fidelity as Affection; the second was *Captain* of his *Guards*, and *Governour* of the Castle of *Mantua* which commands the *Town*. These then had the Courage as well as the Fidelity, to lay before him the Ruin that he was like to bring upon himself as well as upon all *Italy*, by delivering himself up so intirely to the *French Councils*, and by putting them first in possession of *Guaftale*, and now suffering then to *Fortify* it, which was in effect the delivering up of his *Principality*, and of all

his People to them; who looked upon themselves as brought already under a *Foreign Yoke*: they also represented to him the danger of having almost no other *Domesticks* but *Frenchmen* about him, who were all as so many *Spies* upon him, and upon all that were near him, and that were very exact in giving the *French Envoy* Mr. *Baumbeau* an account of every thing that he either said or did. These Demonstrances made some Impressions on the *Duke*, and he promised to them to find out an effectuall Remedy to all those Evils: But this was not a secret very long; *Adversaries* and *Spies* find out every thing; and it is possible that they who gave the *Duke* these faithfull Advices might have been engaged to it, either by some Instruments of the Court of *Spain*, or of the Republick of *Venice*: yet the truth of this is not known, but the *French Envoy* made a shift to charge them so heavily, that he got them both to be made close Prisoners; in this condltion they were when I was at *Mantua*, and no body durst so much as mention their Names, much less Interpose for them.

All the *Princes* of *Italy* are as *Absolute* in their own *Dominions*, and as much delivered from all the bonds of *Law*, as some greater *Kings* are, so their *Subjects* are at their Mercy, both for their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*: and this is that from which one may
take

take a sure measure of the weakness of *Italy*.
Subjects that retain still all the due liberties of humane nature, and that are not under an *Arbitrary* but a *Legal* Government, fight for themselves, as well as for their *Prince*; but if they are already as miserable as they can be, so that a change may perhaps put them in a better condition, but can hardly put them in a worse, they will not much concern themselves in their *Princes* Quarrel, since they only fight for the continuance, if not for the encrease of their Slavery.

But now to return to the Duke of *Mantua*; the *French* Envoy has since that time stuck closer to him than ever; he indeed waits always on him, sometimes acting like an *Officer* of his Household, and at other times like the *Governour* of his Person: he made the tour of *Italy* with him this year, and waited on him to *Millan*, *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Rome*, *Naples* and *Venice*, where they passed the *Carnavall* together: and he took a most particular care that the *Duke* should meet with none in all those places, that might open his eyes, to let him see the Ruin that he is bringing upon himself; yet after all, one of his *Secretaries*, had still the Integrity and Courrage to give him such faithful Counsels, as had been fatal to others: yet the *Duke* used him better than he had done the two *Marquisses*: for tho the *French* Spies discovered him likewise, yet,
 nothing

nothing could be done to hurt him in the *Dukes* good opinion, therefore it was resolved to take another method to tear so dangerous a man from him; so he being sent to negotiate some business at the *Court* of *Turin*, was often invited to go a Hunting, which he resisted for a great while, tho the *French Ambassadors* pressed him much to it; at last he was overcome, but his sport was fatal to him; for he was seized on, and carried by a small Party sent from *Pignarol* as is believed. In short, he is in the hands of the *French*, and it is said in *Italy*, that he is clapt up in *St. Margarete* one of the little *Islands* in the *Mediterranean Sea*. This matter was at first highly resented by the *Duke*, but a little time will shew whether the caresses of the *Court* of *France* can soften him in this matter or not; for if they can lay him asleep after such an Attempt, then all persons will conclude that he is so much in their power, that none will dare to run the hazard of undeceiving him any more.

Those in the *Mountferrat* feel what a Neighbour *Cassal* is to them; that Imperious way of proceeding, without having any great regard to Justice, or to Contracts and Agreements, that is practised in *France*, begins to be felt here likewise: of which many smaller Instances were given me, but I will tell you two that were more remarkable; when the *Garrison* was first settled in *Cassal*, those of the

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Montferrat held the price of their *Corn* so high, that it was hard to furnish the *Garrison* with *Bread*: so some of *Piedmont* undertook to supply them for two years at 21 *Livers* the *Ration*; and the bargain being made, they bought in great stores, and so they quickly filled their *Granaries*: upon this some in the *Montferrat* came and offered to serve the *Garrison* at 14 *Livers* the *Ration*, upon which the other bargain tho made as sure as any such contract can possibly be made, was broke, and the undertakers was ruined by it. The other story was, that in order to the building the *Fortifications*, some *Masons* made a bargain at 32 *Livers* such a measure: so they brought together a great number of *Workmen*, and were at work; when others came and offer'd to perform the work at 28 *Livers*, for which the others had 32 *Livers*, only they demanded a considerable advance; so the first Bargain was presently broken, to the great loss of the Undertakers: but the 2^d Undertakers, that had *Mony* advanced them, found they had made a Bargain that was too hard for them to execute, so they ran away with the *Mony*, to the great joy of the Country. He that told me this, said, that perhaps it surpris'd the *Italians*, who were not yet acquainted with such things; but nothing of that kind would seem extraordinary in *France*, which was so much accustomed to such a way of proceeding that

that he gave me a particular account of so many, that he had reason to know well, as would fill a Book : but that which touched him most sensibly, was the *Fonds* that was made for an *East-India Company*, to which the King gave in three Millions, with this positive Assurance, that all the Losses and Dammage of the *Company* should fall on that *Stock*. This was a great encouragement to draw in men, to put *Money* into the stock, and the *Court* set on the Project with so much Zeal, that *Letters* were writ to all the great Bodies and Towns of *France*, that were considered rather as Commands than Desires : yet after all were engaged, upon the first occasion the Kings three Millions were taken out of the stock, and the rest were left to shift for themselves.

But I must here give you an account of a very Extraordinary Transaction in the *Court* of *Turin*, which is likewise thought an effect of the Authority that the *Councils* of *France* have likewise there. The *Marquis de Pianesse* the son of him that set on the *Massacre* of the *Protestants* in the *Valleys* of *Piedmont* 34 years ago, was in great favour with the late Duke of *Savoy*, but the war of *Genoa* miscarried so in his hands in the year 1672, that the *Duke* could never forgive him that matter; of which the *Resentments* were so quick when he died, that he left a charge on *Madame Royale*; never to forgive him, nor to Employ him.

him: he upon his Disgrace retired into France, and was so well entertained there, that he had Interest enough to procure a Recommendation from the King to the Dutchesse of Savoy in his favour; but her Excuse was so reasonable, being founded on the Orders she had received from the Duke on his Deathbed, that there was no reply to be made to it: yet afterwards a Nephew of his, the Count Massin, was so happy in the Dutchesse's favour, that he found he only wanted a Head as able as his Uncle's was to support him in that credit which her favour gave him: and he was so much in the good graces of *Mad. Royale*, that he at last prevailed with her to bring his Uncle into the chief Ministry, he being certainly one of the ablest men that belongs to that Court; and the pretence found to bring this about decently, was, that the Dutchesse did secretly intimate to the Court of France, that she found it necessary to imploy the Marq. de Pianesse, and therefore she desired that the King would renew his Recommendation of him, which being done, he was received into the Ministry, and had the chief stroke in all Affairs: he placed another of his Nephews about the Duke, and supported him so, that he got very far in his favour: so Mr. de Pianesse observing great Disorders in the Government, and a great and useless Consumption of the Revenue, he instructed his Nephew that was about the Duke
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so well, that he entertained the young Duke often upon these heads, who was not then 15 years old: he shewed him how his Country was ruined by his Mother's ill conduct, and was always suggesting to him the Necessity of his assuming the Government, and putting an end to his Mother's Regency, which is a discourse to which all Persons of that Age have such a natural Inclination, that it was no wonder if both Uncle and Nephew came to believe that the Duke hearkned to the Proposition: but the Duke thought it too hardy a thing to venture on it, without consulting it with some wiser heads; upon which Mr. de Pianesses Nephew told him, that he would bring his Uncle to him, who would conduct the matter for him; for tho he had great obligations to Madam Royale, yet his Fidelity to his Prince, and his Affection to his Country, overcame them all. This was a great surprise to the Duke, who looked on Mr. de Pianesse as the person in the World, that was the most obliged to his Mother, and that was the most in her Interests: and it was believed that the prejudice which this gave him, blasted this whole Design: yet he gave him several Audiences in secret, and had concerted with him the whole method, both of assuming and managing the Government: which was carried on so secretly, that there was no suspicion of the matter, till the day be-

before it was to break out, and that the *Duke* was to withdraw himself from his *Mother*: but then it was discovered, and the *Duke* to reconcile himself to his *Mother*, sacrificed the *Marq. de Pianesse* to her resentments: he was not only Disgraced, and put in Prison, but his Process was made before the Court of *Parliament* of *Chambery*, for having endeavoured to throw the *Government* into a Confusion, by sowing of Division between the *Duke* and his *Mother*: yet he defended himself so well, that he was acquitted, but he continues still a Prisoner: upon his Disgrace, there was none that durst oppose himself to *Mad. Royale*, or offer any advices to the *Duke*, so that the *Court* of *Turin* was as absolutely governed by the Directions that were sent from the *Court* of *France*, as if the one had been the *Vassal*, if not the *Subject* to the other.

I will not prosecute this Discourse to tell you that which all *Europe* knows, of the designed Match with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, by which *Savoy* and *Piedmont* would have undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the *French*. The breaking of this, and the *Dukes* being Poisoned, as well as his *Father* had been, tho his youth carried him thro it, are things too well known, for you to be ignorant of them. It is true, those who poisoned the present *Duke*, have not been yet discovered and punished,

nished, as those were who poysoned his Father. While I was at *Turin*, there was a Discourse, that the *Duke* was reflecting on the wise Advices that Mr. *De Pianesse* had given him, and that he intended not only to bring him out of *Prison*, but to receive him again into the *Ministry*, which is confirmed to me since I left those Parts. There is nothing more visible, than that the *Dukes* of *Savoy* have sunk extreamly in this Age, from the figure which they made in the last; and how much soever they may have raised their *Titular* Dignity, in having the Title of *Royal Highness* given them, they have lost as much in the *Figure*, that they made in the Affairs of *Europe*; and it is now almost too late to think of a Remedy; for *Pignerol* and *Cassal* are too very inconvenient Neighbours. The truth is, the Vanity of this *Title*, and the expenceful humour that their late *Marriages* with *France* has spread among them, have undone them, for instead of keeping good *Troops* and strong *Places*, all the *Revenue* goes to the keeping up of the Magnificence of the *Court*; which is indeed very splendid.

I will not ingage in a *Relation* of this last Affair of the *Valleys* of *Piedmont*; for I could not find Particulars enough, to give you that so distinctly as you may perhaps desire it. It was all over, long before I came to *Turin*; but

but this I found, that all the *Court* there were ashamed of the matter: and they took pains upon Strangers, not without some affectation, to convince them that the *Duke* was very hardly drawn to it: that he was long pressed to it by the repeated Instances from the *Court* of *France*; that he excused it, representing to the *Court* of *France* the constant Fidelity of those People ever since the last *Edict* of *Pacification*, and their great Industry, so that they were the profitablest Subjects that the *Duke* had, and that the Body of Men which they had given his *Father* in the last War with *Genoa*, had done great Service; for it saved the whole Army: but all these Excuses were without effect; for the *Court* of *France* having broken its own Faith, that had been given to *Hereticks*, and in that shewed how true in respect it pays to the *Council* of *Constance*, had a mind to engage other *Princes* to follow this new Pattern of *Fidelity* that it set the World: so the *Duke* was not only pressed to extirpate the *Hereticks* of those *Valleys*; but this Threatning was added, that if he would not do it, the King would send his own *Troops* to extirpate *Heresy*; for he would not only not suffer it in his own Kingdom, but would even drive it out of his *Neighbourhood*. He who told me all this, knowing of what Countrey I was, added, that perhaps he would within a little while send the like Messages to some others of his Neighbours.

But

But to return to the expence that is made in the *Court of Turin*, I cannot forget a Discourse that I had on this subject with a *German*, that was a man of very good sense: he told me, that nothing ruined the *Empire* so much, as the great Magnificence which all the *Princes* affected to keep up in their *Courts*; and the Luxury in which they begun to live, which had much corrupted the Antient Simplicity and Gallantry of that great and Warlike *Nation*. Not only the *Nobility*, but their very *Princes* travel into *France*; and are so much taken with the Splendor & Luxury that they see there, that they return home quite spoiled with the ill Impressions that this makes on them. They carry home with them *French-Cooks*, and all the Contrivances of Pleasure that are so much studied there, for the vitiating the Minds of their *Countrey-men*: and by a vast Expence, they not only exhaust their *Revenue*, and ruine their *Subjects*, but they become so liable to Corruption, that if their Income at home cannot support their charge, both their *Princes* and their *Ministers* are reduced, as it were to the necessity of taking Pensions, from those whose Instruments have set on this Luxury, and whose Pensions will still support it, till the *Germans* are sufficiently enervated by the Feebleness into which all that Luxury must needs throw them, and then they will despise and trample

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upon them, as much as they do now court them. He who told me all this, added, that the little *Princes* of the *Empire*, affected now as much Splendor in their *Courts* as the *Electors* did in the last *Age*, and that the *Electors* lived now in as much Magnificence as *Crowned Heads* did formerly. But he carried his Observation further, and having stayed some considerable time both in *Switzerland* and *Holland*, he added, that *Luxury* and *Expence* were wicked things even in *Monarchies*, but they were fatal and destructive when they got into *Common-wealths*; of which the History of *Lacedemon*, *Athens*, and above all of *Rome*, give proofs that are beyond exception; for there is a *Humility*, a *Sobriety*, and a *Frugality*, that is so necessary for their Preservation; that *Kingdoms* can be better maintained without *Troops* and strong Places, than *Common-wealths* without these. An *Emulation* in *Expence*, a *Vanity* in *Clothes*, *Furniture*, or *Entertainments*, are so contrary to all the Principles upon which a *Common-wealth* must be either built or preserved, that he said, he thought that the *Dutch* had lost more of their real Strength, by the Progress that this Pest makes among them, than by all the *Expence* of the last *War*, of which they complain so much: and indeed the Men of *Luxury* and *Vanity* ought to be driven out of *Common-wealths*, as publick

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Enemies to the Constitution of the *Government* : since an irregular Profusion throws them into Injustice and Oppression, and may in time expose them to the Corruption of other *Princes*, and dissolves that Industry and Application for Affairs by which only they can subsist : for among all the *Maxims* that relate to a *Common-wealth*, there is none more indispensable, than *that all men regulate their Expence, so that it may not exceed their Income* : and therefore he admired that Part of the *Venetian* Constitution, that regulates the Expence of their *Nobility* ; and concluded, that if the *States* and the *Cantons* did not put an effectual stop to the Progress of those Disorders among them, the *Figure* that they had made in all the Affairs of *Europe*, as it was in a great degree already eclipsed among the *Cantons*, so would sink apace even in the *States* ; and this was all that was wanting to set up a *new Monarchy* in the *West*.

But I have got such a trick of making Digressions, that I find it is hardly possible for me to hold long close to a point : there is something in travelling, I fancy, that makes a mans thoughts reel ; and that leads his Pen to wander about as much as his Person does : yet I remember still what drew me into all this ramble ; it was the business of *Guaftale*, and the Court of *Mantua* that led me so far about. I will say no more to you of the rest of *Lombardy*;

by; nor will I enter into any description of *Tuscany*; but shall only tell you one thing, which both touched me much, and pleased me extreamly.

I need not enlarge to you on the Poverty & Misery that appears in *Pisa*, where there remains yet enough to shew what they once were, and how much they are now sunk from what they were while they were a *Free State*: but all this is much more sensible, when one goes from hence to *Lucca*, which tho it has not the advantage of Situation that *Pisa* has, yet is quite another sort of a place. The *Town* is well built, full of *People*, and as full of *Wealth*: the whole Soil of this small *State* is well cultivated and is full of *Villages*, all the marks and effects of *Liberty* appear, in an universal Civility, and a generous & frank way of living: This is also the Place of all *Italy* that is freest of all Crimes and publick Vices; they value themselves upon nothing but their *Liberty*, of which the *State* is so jealous, that the frequent change of their *Magistrates*, from two Months to two Months, and the Restraint in which they are kept while they bear *Office*, they being indeed honourable Prisoners all the while, have preserved that here, which so many of their Neighbouring *States* have lost: and as *Liberty* is engraven in *Capital Letters*, upon the publick Buildings of this *State*, so it appears to be much deeper in all their Hearts.

Hearts. One sees the Effects of their *Wealth*, in all their publick Works, as well as in the *Fortifications* of this Place, which are much better, and better kept than in any Place I saw in *Italy*, except *Genoa*. There is on the inward side of the *Ramparts*, a noble Plantation, which is one of the beautifullest Decorations that belongs to this Place; for as there is a considerable space left void between the *Ramparts* and the *Buildings*, so this is planted all about the whole Town, with several rows of Trees, which afford pleasant Walks, and a lovely Shade, which is no small matter, where they are exposed to so hot a Sun.

I come in the last place to give you an account of *Genoa*, which tho it is not able now to compete as it did some Ages ago with the *Republick* of *Venice*, yet is still a great Body and full of Wealth; one that comes out of the *Popes Patrimony* and *Tuscany*, into this narrow Border that lies between the *Hills* and the *Sea*, should expect to find as great a difference between their abounding in People and Wealth, as there is between the Soil of these two *Countries*: but he finds the change just contrary to what in reason he ought to expect: for all this edge of Soil, is so full of *Villages* and *Towns*, and there is so great a plenty of *Money*, and of every thing else here, that it amases a *Traveller* no less, than the abandoned state of those other Places. The

The numbers of the subjects of this Republic are estimated to 330000 *Persons*; which are thus reckoned up; In the Town of *Genoa* it self there are about 80000 *Persons*: in the Villages and Towns that lie Westward there are 120000 and 30000 in those that lie to the East: and the *Inhabitants* of the Island of *Corfica* are reckoned to be 100000. They keep two small *Forts* in *Corfica*, one at *Calvi* on that end that looks to *Genoa*, and another at *Boniface* on the other end that looks to *Sardinia*; for they have let *S. Fiorenza* and some other small places go to ruin. These two are considerable in themselves, and command two very good Harbours; yet as the Buildings in *Calvi* are too much exposed and too high, so *Boniface* is under an high Ground, that is within musket shot of it, and that commands it: these places are now in a sad condition, ill kept, and ill furnished both with Men and Ammunition; so that they could not make a great Resistance, there being but 150 Men in *Calvi*, and 200 in *Boniface*; and it is believed, that the reason of their letting *S. Fiorenza* go to ruin, is, the Greatness of the Place, and the Expence of keeping it. The *Gorses* are extreemly brave, and have a Rage in their courage, that would be much more valuable and useful than it is if they were more governable, and could be brought under an exact Discipline: but they are unruly,

and as apt to Mutiny, when they see no Enemy, as to fight well when it comes to that. The compass of the *Fortification* of *Genoa* is an amazing thing; for it runs all along the hills in compass of many miles, I was told it was above 15 mile, and in the Expence that has been laid out on this and on the two *Males*, chiefly the new one, one sees that this *State* spare nothing which Publick Safety, or the Convenience of Trade do require: these Publick Works has run the *Republick* into a vast debt, for they owe above Nine Millions of *Crowns* that are upon the *Bank*, besides several other debts, in particular their great Debt to *St. Georges House*; the greatest part of the *Revenue* of this *State* stands engaged for the Interest that they pay, so that tho the whole *Revenue* amounts to 1200000 *Crowns*, they reckon that 900000 *Crowns* of this is engaged, so that they have only three hundred thousand *Crowns* clear for their whole Expence, which is so small a matter, that it is no wonder if they are in a low condition, and can do little upon so narrow a fond: their *Revenues* rises chiefly out of an *Excise* that falls so equally upon all the *Subjects* of this *State*, that they reckon that every Man in *Genoa*, pays six *Crowns* a year to the *State*. The whole Land *Forces* of this *State* were but 3500 Men, yet of late they have raised them up to 4000 Men, of which 2500 are the Garrison of the City, and

and there are 600 in *Savona*, which after the City it self is the most important place that belongs to this State: the extent of the whole Country, that goes by the name of the *River of Genoa*, is 180 miles, of which 120 lie *Westward*, and 60 lie *Eastward*; the *Mountains* that are almost impassible are thought a sufficient Defence to cover them from their Neighbours in *Lombardy*, and from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the State of *Millan*. It is true, they have one *Fort* called *Gavi*, that is 25 miles distant from the *Town*, which has all the advantages of situation that are possible for keeping the Passes thro the Mountain: but as they keep only a Garrison of 120 Men in it, so all things in it are so neglected, that it could make no considerable Resistance to an Enemy that could attack it vigorously. In short, the strength of this State is very inconsiderable, their *Souldiers* are ill Disciplined, their *Officers* want Experience, and they have no good *Engineers*; the *New Mole* is indeed a vast work, built out into the *Sea* seven fathom deep, and there are an hundred pieces of *Cannon* mounted to defend the *Old Mole*; their *Naval Forces* consist in six *Galleys*, and two Men of War, but these are not kept as Ships of War, but are employed rather as Merchant-men, so that they not only bear their own Expence, but bring in an Overplus to the State.

Finale, which is the only Seaport that belongs to the State of *Millan*, is a poor abandoned Village without either Fortification or Garrison, nor do the *Spanish Galleys* come there any more; but make *Genoa* it self their Step and Passage between *Spain* and *Millan*: so that an attempt upon *Genoa* was indeed the taking of all the *Millanese*, since the communication between *Spain* and it, being now thro *Genoa*, whensoever this Republick falls into the hands of the *French*, all the *Millanese* must fall of it self, or rather indeed all *Italy* must needs fall with it.

This is, as far as I could understand it, the outward force of *Genoa*: for it can expect little from its *Allies*, it having none at all beside *Spain*: and the Slowness and Febleness of that Court, are too visible to give any State great Courage that has no other support besides this to depend on: As for their Neighbours in *Italy*, they have no sort of Commerce with them; for they pretend to a degree of Precedence, equal to the *Venetians*: and to have the respect of a Crowned Head pay'd to them, and this cuts off all Communications with the other Courts of *Italy*, who consider *Venice* in another manner than they do *Genoa*. As for *Spain*, they have all possible Engagements with it: many of the richest Families of *Genoa* have great Estates in the *Millanese*, and the other Dominions of the King of Spain;

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Spain; so that they must upon their own account be true to the Interests of that Crown, and *Spain* is as much concerned in their preservation as in any of its own Provinces, since it defends their Empire in *Italy*; so that *Genoa* and *Spain* are now inseparably united to one another, by their mutual Interests.

But I come next to give you some account of the inward State of *Genoa*. It is known, that their Liberty was restored to them, by the most earnest intercession of that great Captain, and gallant Country-man, *Andreas Doria*, whose Statue, in remembrance of this, is set up in an open place in their Town: this was in the year 1528. yet tho from that time they had their Government in their own hands, they were still obliged to let a Squadron of the *Spanish Gallies*, stand in their Arsenal, who kept then a Fleet of about 80 Gallies, so that till *Spain* was so much sunk from its former Greatness, that it was no more a Terror to any of its Neighbours, *Genoa* was still in great dread of having their Liberty swallowed up by them, and therefore they do not reckon their entire Liberty but from the year 1624 or 1625, that they saw themselves out of all Danger from any of their Neighbours: *France* was not then begun to grow strong at Sea, and *Spain* was strong no where; so that since that time, till

France began to put our great Fleets, and that they had such a dreadful Neighbour of *Touloun*, they were safe and at quiet: but they fell under the common Disease of all *Common-wealths*, when they are long in Peace, and while their Commerce flourishes; a Spirit of Insolence and of Faction began to spread it self over the whole *Town*, which was grown to such a height, that in the *Project* that was offered to the *Court of France*, shewing the easiness of this Conquest (of which I have seen the Copy) the Divisions and Factions amongst them are proposed, as the chief ground upon which they founded the Probability of the ruin of that *Common-wealth*.

There are *three* sorts of Persons in *Genoa*, the *Nobility*, the *Citizens*, and the *Inferior People*. There are two Ranks of *Nobility*, the one is of the more *Antient Families*, the other is of those who have been chosen and raised up to that Dignity of late. It is true, the Agreement that was made in the Year 1576. between them, is exactly observed, by which the Government and the Publick Employments are to be equally divided between them: but yet there is so great a height of Pride kept up among the Ancient Families, that they will not Inter-marry with the other, and think it a diminution to them, to enter into any Familiarity with them, and even to keep them Company: this on the other hand
kindles

kindles an Indignation in those latter Families, when they see themselves so much despised by the other. The Ancient Families have a necessary Dependence upon the Crown of Spain, by the great Estates that they have in their Dominions; but the others, whose Estates lie rather in Money, which either is in the Bank, or that runs out in Exchange or Trade, they are concerned in nothing but in the Preservation of their Bank, and by consequence in their Liberty; for none can doubt but that if they fell in the Power of another Prince, the Debts on the Bank would be but ill pay'd. Thus the Nobility stand divided into two Factions, which discover their Animosities to one another upon very many occasions: for *Publick Employments* are sought after here, with as much Intrigue as elsewhere. I will give you only one Instance of this, because it is both very refined, and it related to that *Doge*, whose Government was so unhappy both by the Bombarding of *Genoa*, and by his own going to *Versailles* to ask Pardon. He himself was a Man of a quiet temper, that did not aspire; but his Wife could not be satisfied till he was *Doge*, and she *Dagge*: so she set so many Machines at work, that after the several tours, that the matter made in the many *Ballotings*, it came to the fixing of the last three out of whom the *Doge* was to be chosen: and her Husband

was one of them; but there being one of the three, of whom she was very apprehensive, she engaged one of her Friends, to seem so assured of his *Election*, as to lay considerable Wagers with several of the *Electors*, who were likeliest to favour him, that he should be chosen: now they having a greater mind to win their Betts, than to promote their Friend, gave their *Votes* in favour of him, that was upon that made *Doge*.

The 2^d body in *Genoa* is that of the *Citizens*, who seem to be extreamly weary of the Insolence of the *Nobility*; and there are many among them, that think themselves no way inferiour to them, neither in the Antiquity, nor in the Dignity of their *Families*. They do also complain of a great Injustice done them by the *Nobility*; for in the Agreement made between the *Nobility* and the *Citizens*, in the Year 1528, one *Article* was, that every Year *ten Citizens* should be according to their merit received into their Body. It is certain, that if this had been observed, the *Nobility* of *Genoa* had become by this time so common, that this would have sunk its Dignity extreamly: but instead of doing this yearly, it is now done but once in 30 Years, so the *Citizens* complain much, that this Encouragement and Recompence of *Merit* is now withdrawn. The *Nobility* pretend on the other hand, that by that Agreement, they are only

only enabled to make an *annual* Promotion, but that they are not obliged to it: and I was told, that the Original *Record* of that Agreement could not be found now; and no doubt it has been destroyed by the Order of the *Senate*. In short, the *Citizens* have so great an aversion to the Government, that it was generally thought that they would easily be prevailed on to shake it off, and to throw themselves rather into the Arms of another Prince, who would certainly have very soon trampled upon them all equally; for it is too common a thing, to see in all those intestine Factions, that angry and ill-natured Men, consider the last Injury, more than all other things: and are ready to sacrifice all to their Resentments: and are so intent upon their *Revenge*s, that often they will not look into the Consequences of what they do, but go on, which way soever the Anger of the *Faction* drives them: and those who are wise enough, to make their own Advantage of those Quarrels, and that are dextrous enough to manage them artificially, make commonly those Parties take their thras in using one another ill, in which they know how to find their account: and as this observation holds often in *Colder Climates*, so in a *Countrey* where Revenues are very much studied and gratified, no wonder if this was much relied on. The third Rank is of the

Trades-men and Rabble, who have their chief dependance upon the great *Nobility*: but they are a vicious and dissolute sort of *People*, as any are in the world. And indeed all *Genoa* is so extremely corrupt, so ignorant, and so brutal, and so little acquainted with the true *Notions of Government*, that here is a *Common-wealth* degenerated to such a degree, that it cannot resist a considerable shock. The *Subjects* are excessively Rich, tho the *State* is Poor: and this appears both in the magnificence of their *Buildings*, which is beyond Imagination, and in the great *Wealth* that is in their *Churches* and *Convents*, which seemed to me to be beyond what is in *Venice* it self.

A sensible Man that I knew there told me, that as there was among them a sort of Impunity to all kind of Vice, so their gross Ignorance made them incapable to conduct their *State*; for while their *Wealth* blew them up, with that pride that it commonly produces in mean Souls, and when their Intrigues brought them into a considerable share of the *Government*, they satisfied themselves with carrying on the Interests of their own *Cabal*, and depressing those that opposed them, without opening their minds to so great a thought, as that of correcting or securing their *Common-wealth*. They neither had Heads nor Hearts capable of a vigorous Defence:

Defence : and they knew nothing of what was doing abroad ; but contented themselves with minding the Interest of their *City Factions*. He added, that when a *Common-wealth* fell once into this Disease, it was in a much worse state, than any to which the Rigour even of an unhappy War, could reduce it : as a Man whose Vitals are inwardly corrupted, is in a much worse condition, than he that has received many wounds ; Nature may bring him thro the one, tho he had lost ever so much Blood ; whereas it must sink under the other : so all the mischief that could befall a *Common-wealth* could hardly destroy it, if it retain'd the inward vigour of its first *Maxims* and *Constitution* : and he did not stick to say, that as high as the *States of Holland* were now in holding the *Ballance of Europe*, if their *Towns* fell once into established *Factions*, if *Learning* sunk among them, so that their *Magistrates* grew Ignorant, chiefly of the *Affairs of Europe* ; if they came to have a *Magistracy*, that had not the right understanding of *War*, and the Courage with which some practice in *Military* matters inspire Men ; and if their *Wealth* swelled them up to an unreasonable Pride, and that Men rise more upon the little *Intrigues of City Factions*, than upon true merit ; whensoever, he said, the *States* fell into this Disease, then the strength of that *Republick*

was

was gone; and tho they might subsist after that longer or shorter, according to the Conjunction of Affairs, yet one might reckon them to be in their Decline, which must end in a most certain Ruin to them, either within doors, or from abroad.

I have now told you enough to let you see how reasonable a Project it was to send a *Fleet* against so feeble a *Body*; which without most prodigious Errors in the management, could not have miscarried: and this is so clear, and so confessed by every Man in *Genoa*, that one rather wonders how they found a way to conduct it so ill. The Man that formed the whole Project was *Stiven Valdyron* of *Nismes*, and a *Protestant*, who is a Person of a very good Understanding, and having lived above 12 Years in *Genoa*, had time enough not only to raise a very good Estate out of his Trade, but to see into the whole Feebleness of that *Government*. I conversed long and much with him: and having since that time been in *Genoa* it self, I have seen so clearly the truth of all that he told me, that I may now assure you of all that I learnt from him. He had a strange Affection to his *Great Monarch*, and fancied that the Obligations of raising his *Glory*, was superiour to all other: and no doubt he reckoned to find his own account in it, if he could have been the occasion of making the *King of France* Master of *Genoa*: there-

therefore he drew up the whole Project, and shewed both of what Importance the thing was, and how easily it might be executed : for I have a *Copy* of the whole *Scheme*, which Mr. *St. Olon* sent to the *Court of France*, of which Mr. *Valdyron* was indeed the *Author*; the Design being entertained, *St. Olon* had an Intimation given him, to withdraw some Days before the *French Fleet* came before the *Town*. But *Valdyron* was left to try his hard Fate; for as soon as the *Fleet* began to do Acts of Hostility, *Valdyron*, who had been known to be much with *St. Olon*, was clapt in Prison, and while he was in it, a Bomb broke thro his Prison, but did him no hurt, only the violent noise it made weakned the Tympan of his *Ear* so much, that he lost his hearing of one side.

But he, as well as all *Genoa*, fancied they were lost, and that the *French* must be certainly Masters of the Place in a few hours. The Consternation and Confusion was so great, that if at first a great Shower of Bombs had been thrown into the *Town*, and a descent had been made, they had certainly succeeded; for the People were in such disorder, that the *Magistrates* were not regarded; and indeed many of them shewed as much fear as the Rabble did. But the *French*, instead of beginning vigorously at first, threw in one Bomb, and after some hours another :
and

and so went on slowly for a day or two; in which time, the *People* began to get into order, and to take heart: and now their first Fear, turned to a Rage against the *French*: so that when they made a descent, they found such a Resistance, that they were forced to go back to their *Ships*, having left behind them 500 of their best *Men*: and the *Fleet* continued Bombarding the *Town*, till they had shot all their *Bombs*; and when their stores was spent, they sail'd away, having laid a great many noble *buildings* in ruins.

The *morality* of this way of proceeding, was somewhat hard to be found out: the *Italians* do not stick to say, it was an *Assassinat*, when without Warning or proceeding in the way of a fair *War*, a *fleet* came and surpris'd and burnt a *Town*: but the Conduct was as extraordinary, as the Action: it self was honourable and worthy of a MOST CHRISTIAN KING.

It was pleasant to hear a *Spaniard*, that belonged to the Count of *Melgar*, talk of this matter: he said, that in this, *France* had acted as it had done on many other occasions, in which tho it had the favourablest conjuncture possible, it had done nothing suitable to what might have been expected; for tho they had here a calm *Sea*, for four days, which is a very extraordinary thing in the *Bay of Genoa*, that is almost always in a *Storm*, and tho they had

had surprised the *Town*, that had not the least apprehension of such a Design, and found them in a condition not likely to have resisted a much smaller Force; yet he said, that Feebleness which had appeared upon many other occasions, shewed it self likewise here, since this great Expedition failed, and the Reproach of first attempting it, and then miscarrying in it, was studied to be carried off by this, that the design was only to *Chastise Genoa*, at which there is not a *Man* in the *Town* that does not laugh. He upon this took a great compass for these last twenty years backwards, to shew that there was nothing extraordinary in all this *Reign*, that had been the Subject of so many *Panegyrics*, unless this may be reckoned extraordinary, that there has been so little progress made, when they had the fairest opportunities possible: an Infant *King of Spain*, and a feeble *Council*, and a Distraction in the *States of Holland*; so that the first Successes that were the Effects of the weakness and surpise of those that were attackt, are rather a Reproach than a Glory to a *Reign*, that has understood so ill how to serve it self of those advyntages, that had nothing of the Greatness of a *Conquering Genius* in it; and where the *Ministry* shewed rather an exactness in executing little Projects, than a largeness of Soul in laying vast ones. I could not but be pleased to see a

Spaniard,

Spaniard, find somewhat that entertained his Pride in the contempt of the *French*, at the same time that the low estate of their Affairs, made him feel the depression of their own *Empire* as much as the progress of the Great Monarch of *France*.

But now I cannot but tell you the rest of *Valdyron's* Story : as soon as the *French* were gone, the Government of *Genoa* began to examine him, but he stood to his denial, and said, he knew nothing : all his *Effects* were seized on and dissipated, and he himself was four or five times put to the Strapado, which was done by tying his hands behind his back, and fetching them over his Head; which dis-jointed his Armes and Shoulder-blades in a most terrible manner, yet he had the firmness to stand it out : and so they could draw nothing from him : but as soon as the Court of *France* understood that both he, and several other *Frenchmen*, that lived in *Genoa*, were put in Prison, the *Resident* of *Genoa* was clapt up at *Paris* : and when the *Overtures* were made to accommodate this matter, *Valdyron* was no more ill used, and after some Months he was set at Liberty : but his *Estate* was quite lost : yet he came to *France*, not doubting but that so great a Service, and such severe Suffering, would have procured him some considerable Reward : but after he had languished there above a

year,

year, he got a *Pension*, that was just enough to keep him alive, of two hundred *Crowns*: and even that was stopt, as soon it was known that he was of the *Religion*, till he changed. This piece of Gratitude for such a Service, that had cost him so dear, was no extraordinary Encouragement for others to venture as he had done. Yet I who knew him well, for almost two years, could not but admire the wonderful Zeal he had for the Glory of his King; for in the midst of all his Misery, and of all the Neglect he met with, having fallen from so flourishing a condition, he could never be brought to think that he had done foolishly: but was rather proud of it, that he had formed so sure a Scheme, for putting *Genoa* into his *Masters* hands: & this he said often to me, when he was so poor, that he did not know where to dine. The affinity of the matter, makes me call to mind a conversation that I had at *Rome*, with two of the Old *Magistrates* of *Messina*: who had been men that bore a great stroak in that *Town*, during the *Revolt*: and were then reduced to the misery of accepting a Charity. They told us, that all the *Oaths*, that Mr. *de Vivonne*, and Mr. *la Fueillade*, swore to them in the *Kings* name, as well as in their own, never to abandon them, which were made upon the *Sacrament*, besides whole Valleys of *Oaths*, that Mr. *la Fueillade* made them from morning to night,

while

while he was among them, it seems went for nothing, but matters of form: yet they said, they thought the *French Ministry* would have considered the *Kings Interests*, if they had no regard to his *Honour*. They added, that if the *King of France*, when he found the *War of Messina* lay heavy upon him, had sent to *Spain*, and offered to that *Court*, as a pledge of the Peace that he was offering them at *Nimwegen*, to put *Messina* again into their hands, provided they would grant an *Indemnity* for what was past, and a *Confirmation* of their *Ancient Privileges*, of which he himself would be the *Guarant*, this they said the *Spaniards* would have without doubt, accepted as something come to them from *Heaven*: and if the matter had ended thus, as it would have been highly honourable for the *King*, so it would have given him the dependance both of *Sicily* and *Naples*, and have kept them still in a disposition to throw themselves into his hands: whereas in the way that their business ended, if there should be in any time hereafter a provocation given in those parts to *revolt*, they would sooner throw themselves into the *Armes* of the *Turk*, if he should be again in a condition to protect them, than of those who had abandoned them in so strange a manner, taking no care neither of the *Privileges* of the *Town* in general, nor of those particular *Persons*, who had rendred themselves unpardonable

pardonable to the *Spaniards*. It is true, some were brought away to *France*, the two that I have mentioned were of that number, and had small *Pensions* assigned them, which were but ill payed : and because some of them had not patience enough to bear such an unlooked for Usage, but complained freely of it, a pretence was taken from thence, to banish them all out of *France* ; so that ever since they have suffered a great deal of Misery. I will not digress so far as to give you an account of that whole *Revolts*, which they justified to us, from the great *Privileges* of their *Town*, which were indeed such as made it a sort of a *Common-Wealth* : that had a right to defend it self against those manifest Infractions with which they charged the *Spaniards*. They told us, that the Confiscations of *Messina* had amounted to twenty *Millions* : and yet for all that the *King of Spain* was not much the richer by their Ruin ; for the *Vice-Roy* and *Government of Sicily*, pretended to exhaust all by a *Citadel* that they are building : and by some other publick Works. In Conclusion, the two poor *Messinesses*, seeing a *Dutchman* in our Company, turned the Discourse to him, and wished him to warn his *Countrymen*, by their Fate, how much some *Courts* ought to be relied on.

And now I have done with all the *Political Observations*, that I could make in *Italy*. But

as I begun this *Letter* with one piece of *Natural History*, I will end it with another. The first was a way of preparing of *Salt*, and the second is a new way of preparing of *Vitriol*, which was lately set up in the *Sulfatara*, near *Puzzolo*. It has not been long enough a going, to enable one to judg how it will succeed; but yet all things are very promising; and that which gives a good prospect of it, is, that all is done without the expence of any *fire*. The Method of it is this: There are several *Cisterns* made in that great Bottom of the *Sulfatara*, of great *stones* cemented very close: into these all the *Rain*, both of that Bottom, and of the little Hills that are round it, does fall, which is impregnated with *Vitriol*: they do also lay a great many Tiles and Bricks before all those Vents, that the *fire* which is in this Soil makes: and where the Smoke comes out, with so rapid a violence; so that this Smoke passing thro these Bricks, leaves a great deal of *Sulphur* and *Vitriol* upon them: and these Bricks are washed in those *Cisterns*, and by this means the *Water* becomes impregnated with *Vitriol*: then they put the *Water* into *Coppers*, which they set over those violent hot Eruptions; so that this serves as a Fire to evaporate the Phlegm, and so they find quantities of *Vitriol*. The Revenue of this goes to the *Annunciata* of *Naples*: and they begin to promise themselves great

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great advantages from it : but a little time will shew this, as well as greater matters. I will add no new trouble, to that which the length of this *Letter* must needs have given you : so I will conclude, without any other Formality, but that of assuring you that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since I added a *Postscript* to my *two* former *Letters*, I intend to make this so far of a piece with them, as to conclude this likewise with one ; for I find, looking over the little Notes that I took, a Particular that had escaped me, and yet it seems to deserve to be mentioned : and since I have not brought it into my *Letters*, I have resolved to make a *Postscript* express for it.

There is a little *Town* in the *Appennins*, about 25 miles from *Rome*, called *Norsia*, near which there is a considerable *Abbey*, which belongs now to a *Cardinal*. This *Town*, tho it lies within the *Popes* Territory, yet has such great Priviledges still reserved.

to it, that it may pass in some sort for a free
Common-wealth. They make their *Laws*,
 and choose their own *Magistrates*; but that
 which is the most extraordinary part of their
 Constitution, and that is the most exactly
 observed, is, that they are so jealous of all
Priests, and of their having any share in their
Government, that no man that can either
 read or write is capable of bearing a share in
 their *Government*: so that their *Magistracy*,
 which consists of 4 *Persons*, is always in the
 hands of *Unlettered Men*, who are called there
Li quatri Illiterati: for they think the least
 tendency to *Letters*, would bring them under
 the ordinary Miseries that they see all their
 Neighbours are brought under by the cre-
 dit in which both the *Robes* are among
 them. And they are so shy of all *Churchmen*,
 and so jealous of their *Liberty*, that when
 the *Cardinal* comes during the Heats of the
 Summer sometimes, to his *Abbey*, they take
 no notice of him, nor do they make any sort
 of Court to him. One that has been oft
 there, told me, that by divers of their Cu-
 stoms they seem to be of the race of the old
Danish; and that their Situation and their
 Poverty had at all times preserved them: yet
 they are not such Strangers to the manners
 of the rest of the *Italians* as not to take plea-
 sure in severe revenges, of which this instance
 was given me. The *Abbot* that was the *Car-*

dinals

his Predecessor, had an Auditor who was much in his favour, that made love to the Wife of one of the Magistrates of Norein, which he discovered to her Husband; he ordered her to give the Auditor an Appointment; but provided a good Surgeon and all other things that were necessary to put the Auditor out of all danger of breaking his Vow of Chastity; for he was a Churchman; and the Auditor not failing to observe his rendezvous, was caught, and the operation was performed with all possible care: and he was treated very well till he was quite cured, and then he was sent back to his Patron. The Abbot was highly offended with this affront that was done him: and it may be easily believed that the Auditor was not well pleas'd with this forced Chastity that was now imposed on him: so they sent an Information of the matter to the Rota; and asked their opinion: but the Court of the Rota was wiser than to suffer a matter of this nature to become publick. To this I shall add a pleasant thing that was told me concerning Priests that fell under the misfortune of this Auditor. It is known, that according to the Canon Law, the one Indelible Character defaces the other: and that a Priest so treated can no more say Mass: yet I was told that this distinction was used, that if the Priest had all that was taken from him restored to him, so that he could carry it in his Pocket, he was still esteemed entire, and

and might say *Mess*, but unless he could have the consolation of carrying those things about him, that had been perhaps too good before, the Character was lost, or was at least under a total suspension: If all this is a little too pleasant and too natural, a little good humour must be forgiven to a *Traveller*, whose Spirits are too much in motion, to be so settled and so grave as they ought to be.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 6. line 16. dele of. P. 9. l. 22. portion r. *proportion*.
 P. 16. l. 18. after and r. *upon*. P. 22. l. 4. dele that.
 P. 27. l. 7. r. *that was*. P. 34. l. 23. cited t. *said*. P. 35.
 l. 19. it r. *it*. P. 38. l. 18. dele a. P. 47. l. last r. *ship*.
 P. 48. l. 9. *linger* r. *fling*. l. 20. *hear* r. *hear*. P. 70.
 l. 26. is r. *were*. P. 82. l. 11. *strong* r. *strong*. P. 83. l. 18.
 or r. of. P. 85. l. 9. *St. r. St.* P. 87. l. 16. 235. r. 35.
 P. 89. l. 3. r. *Damascus*.

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